

# JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

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# *The* JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Volume I

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Number 3

## THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATION

JOSEPH KINMONT HART

**A**FTER some five or six thousand years of so-called civilization; after nearly two thousand years of co-called Christian civilization, we find wreckage and ruin in almost every direction; with large groups of people eagerly engaged in making private or group profit out of piracy and loot, or at best, out of salvage and repair; while a routine, or at best, a discouraged few are doing what they can to mend the holes and repair the breaks in the fabric of a torn world. The fact is that we have wished for civilization; we have prayed for it; we have written songs and sonnets to it; we have even spent some money on it; but we have never settled down, whole-heartedly to the task of bringing it into existence. Is it not time, now, in the face of the wreckage of the world, that we definitely accept the task of humanity; that we undertake to develop a real civilization? One phase, only, of that task will concern us in this discussion.

All of us, without exception, I suppose, agree that social conditions in the world, today, present many aspects that are intolerable. All who feel this way are agreed that change is necessary. Most of us try to think that the change we want should be called progress.

Many of us, however, frankly believe that the way out is by return to the "happier" conditions of some "past,"—a "past" not wholly agreed upon even by those who talk most about it. Such a happier past cannot, however, be achieved

by merely talking about it, or even by willing it. If we are to return to any past, we must be educated back to it; and if education fails, force may be called for. But most of the advocates of the "solution by return" believe that education can accomplish the results desired. Illustrations of the sort of education needed are numerous. One from the economic field lies ready at hand.

A recent bulletin of one of the great New York city banks carried an elaborate educational program, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The most disastrous loss of the war was the loss of loyalty to the economic system of so many men who before the war had given it their unwavering support. The disloyal include those who forgot or ignored their duty to a system of which they were among the principal beneficiaries, as well as those who out of mere ignorance were led off after false gods. . . . Of the two, it is easier to forgive the faithlessness of the latter, for theirs was the dissatisfaction that comes out of the grind of existence, out of the weariness of bearing burdens that at the best are more of a promise to posterity than anything the bearers hope to enjoy. We know, and they are fast learning, that the burdens cannot be put down, that there is no universal rest while life lasts, and that from the beginning man has lived by the sweat of his brow and it will be so to the end. . . . The capitalistic system is the sum of human experience,—a compound of the ideas that have worked. It is not static; it is growing, progressive, working. . . . As a plain matter of fact, the capitalistic system of production is miles and miles ahead of us. . . ."

This is a lesson in psychology for the workingman. It would re-animate his old loyalties, resuscitate his old ambitions, and thus, in a measure, restore old conditions.

Such educational programs are at work all about us. They are supported by the modern psychology that is able to insinuate so much without its victim's being aware. But covert threats of violence are not unknown. There are amongst us those who intend to "educate us back to the sane and normal past," even if that should require violence, or they will know the reason why!

Most of us, however, probably believe that the main framework of civilization is still intact, though it shows signs of many stresses and strains. Those who believe this would not go back to anything. They would have us remain where we are, patching and mending the structure at need, and gradually making it better, opportunely, here and there. For these patching and mending processes we need more intelligent patchers and menders, lawmakers, administrators, social workers. Our social leaders, statesmen, educators are, by and large, ignorant men and women. They need education in leadership. Our social problems, though they primarily grow out of economic conditions, are essentially political in character, and they can all be cured by political remedies, especially by legislation, thoughtfully considered. We may call this the liberal point of view.

But there are some amongst us who feel that mending the old machine is no more likely to help the world than is a definite return to the past. These have lost faith in political remedies of every sort. They believe that not only are all our ills economic in origin, but that the cure for all our social ills must be found in economic reconstructions. They would brush aside all indirect, political methods; they would banish the politician and the social worker. They would apply direct action. They would use ruthless economic surgery. They are not sure that even surgery can cure; but they are sure that any sort of general or constitutional treatment of society is at best but postponing the day of final collapse. Hence they are for operating, even though the patient should die.

We are all "direct actionists," of course, in our

own ways. War is direct action. Violence is direct action. Sabotage is direct action, whether it is employed by laborers or by managers. A left hook to the jaw is direct action. When the teacher threshes the child in order to induce arithmetic, that is direct action. We all get tired of "intelligence" at times. We get sick of physicians who hold consultations, and of legislators who look owlish. We want action. But we want it in our own way. We object to the forms of direct action advocated, threatened or practiced by other individuals or groups. So while we are all of us direct actionists by times and spells, we shall probably never get very far in social progress by the use of this method alone.

Again, some of us have been at this task of making a better world for a long time. It seems to us as though we had stood with Moses in the Mount, or that we had walked and talked with Socrates in the Porch. That's a long time to be waiting for Kingdom Come. Hence, we are tired. We have achieved a sort of "permanent fatigue." We want a short way out. We have turned Utopians. We have a noble scheme, on paper, for the cure of all our social ills. That scheme is, however, a unit: it hangs together. The world must take it all or leave it alone. And we who hold to this plan of salvation are not interested in any piecemeal acceptance of it. Take it or leave it! And, in so doing, take us, or leave us! Everything or nothing, is our motto.

It must be admitted that Utopias once absorbed immense areas of human energy. That time is probably past. The world has become more realistic. Human passions are stubborn. Programs have nowhere the standing that once they had, though it must be admitted that a single miracle-bearing idea can still energize the world for a moment or two. We probably have before us an age of growing cynicism about the validity of any ideas or any programs. Hence, the task of making a tolerable world seems likely to become the long, hard task of gaining a step at a time, and of slowly consolidating our gains. Such a thought seems specially distressing to a tired world.

But to any of us who have any real sense of the reality of man's life in history, every one of the foregoing programs seems a concession to fatigue. The race has wanted heaven on too easy terms. We cannot find it in any illusive

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"happy past." We cannot secure it by patching, however faithfully, the broken mechanism of the world. No bit of local surgery will make the body of humanity whole. We cannot sit and wait while the New Jerusalem descends from some Utopian heaven. The future of humanity is the task of humanity. To be sure, while we work at the task we must remember the past, we must conserve, we must criticise, we must hope. But we must also be imaginative, inventive, creative, constructive. The future is not now in existence, just as the flying-machine was not in existence in 1900. The future must be invented and brought into existence, just as the flying machine has been invented and brought into use in the past twenty years.

That is to say, the scientific imagination that has transformed the mechanical world must have its effective correlate in the social world. To be scientific means to be able to envisage a future that shall be continuous with the past and the present,—though that continuity may well be, at least at times, of the nature of a mutation. A scientific program of social change is not a program of revolution nor is it a stupid accumulation of standardized modes and statistics of behavior. It must be a profoundly dramatic matter of human relationships in process; it must be led by socially creative imagination; it must be solidly supported *underneath* by facts.

Now, in any such a program *we must begin where the community is*. No legerdemain can obviate that necessity. Hence, education becomes the fundamental tool of social reconstruction: not the education of children alone, but of adults as well; not schooling but release of mind; not education for advantage, but for understanding; not training for domination, but for the co-operation of the race in the long task of completely subjugating nature to the uses of men.

In such a program, the conservative will have a share, for the future must conserve all the past that has any real significance for living. The liberal will have a share for every gain that is made must be consolidated in the form of growing public opinion and law. The radical will have a share, for society must experiment with surgical methods, cutting out obviously cancerous growths. The Utopian, too, will have a share for such a program must feel the inspiration of an ideal future, though that ideal must

be fluid, not fixed and rigid: it must be forever subject to the reconstructive processes of critical thought and the creative imagination. The civilization of the future must comprehend all the resources of humanity, and it must move forward intelligently to the enlargement of those resources.

Hence, today, as never before, the educator must make himself heard. The educator, not the mere school man. In some ways, the school stands in the way of our needed education. The school man has become too much the machinist. There is no hope for humanity in a machine-made civilization. There is no hope for a humane civilization in a machine-made education. The hope of the future is not in a machine-driven public school for children. The hope of the future is in the intelligence of the community.

Our school teachers are not primarily to blame for the mechanistic tendencies in our education of children. The schools have been forced in this direction. Once we had a real program of democratic community education in this country. Thomas Jefferson was its author and advocate. But we did not understand, and we lost that program. Circumstances were too much for us. We may well consider the facts of that historic development.

Political democracy in America was rooted in the pioneering freedom of individuals and small groups. Local self-government, however bungling or inefficient in practice, was characteristic of early America. But local self-government is educative rather than politically effective. Hence, from the first, those interested in political effectiveness have argued for centralization. Hamilton and his group conceived of government as the function of superior individuals. He held that political authority rightly inheres in some men, and not in others.

Jefferson, on the other hand, conceived of government as the organized expression of the political interests of all of us. Such a conception means, if it is to be realized, the ultimate inclusion of all men in the understanding and shaping of government, as well as in the enjoyment of the protection which government may offer. The ultimate inclusion of all men within the understanding and the control of our community life: that is democracy's task!



But Hamilton's program had one tremendous political advantage over Jefferson's. By making political responsibility the function of the few superior minds, the problem of civic education was enormously reduced. Jefferson's program could succeed only in proportion to the development of a universal civic education. Jefferson saw this and became the advocate of a universal civic education. But the handicaps were too great. Hamilton's program selected the able few in each locality, the abler few in the state, the ablest few in the nation, for political authority, and hence for civic education. So while the Jeffersonians were struggling with the problem of universal civic education, the Federalists were making off with the political machinery, with the prestige of achievement, with the control of political traditions and, eventually, with the control of education. The result of all these centralizing tendencies is that everywhere the sense of local responsibility and the desire for local self-government have declined lamentably. The state overshadows the local community; the federal government overshadows the state. Everywhere there is a general shifting of responsibilities centre-ward, off the shoulders of the individual, onto some governmental agency.

Along with all other centralizings, education has been centralized. That is to say, education is becoming more and more the function of a great school-machine. This inevitably means the formalizing of the work of the school. Formal study has little to do with the civic concerns of children or of the community. School civics has almost no relationship to civic responsibilities. It is just some more official information on which an official examination is set. The very genius of our American institutions was once thought to be the participation of the individual in the concerns of community living, in the economic, the political, the social and moral concerns of the community. We are supposed to be a government by the *people*. But popular participation is possible only when education is civic, vital, real,—when it initiates us into the realities of the world. The standardizing of our schools and the formalizing of our courses of study make such vital education essentially impossible. Therefore, the masses of the people are being left far behind in all economic, civil and moral understandings and in sharing in

democratic control. We do not know how to have a share in these community concerns. We are really not expected to have a share. Our industrial leaders handle industry for us; our politicians handle politics for us; our preachers handle religion for us; our school men handle education for us. And they cover up their community failures by scolding the people for their alleged lack of interest in what most vitally concerns them.

Now we must go back and begin at the beginning. This may seem like a hard saying, but no part of the people can be trusted properly to govern all the people. And no ignorant person can have an intelligent share in government or in the community life. We have a great mass of ignorance in this country; not mere illiteracy, but sheer unilluminated ignorance: ignorance of ourselves; of government; of economics, even of the most elementary sort; ignorance of history; ignorance of what education means and how it goes on. We are an ignorant people. We Americans know almost nothing about foreign affairs, or international relationships. We know almost nothing about domestic conditions. There are more people within one hundred miles of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor than there are in the million square miles west of the Rocky Mountains; yet not ten per cent of the people in the first-named area know or have the slightest conception of the life of the people in any other part of the country. We are an ignorant people. I include our statesmen, our college professors, our editors, our literary half-lights, our social workers, our technicians, our industrial leaders, our preachers, our lawyers, our labor leaders, ourselves, here and now present. We have depended upon Providence, and old traditions, and our public schools. We know books, but we do not know life,—the world in which we live.

It is not certain we want to know our world. We want short cuts. For example, take the offer of a leading engineer. The contributions of the various engineering sciences have long been recognized and accepted,—within their own special fields. War time accomplishments dramatized the services of the engineers and gave them a new standing in our social economy. They, on their part, have taken all this seriously and are offering various engineering programs for curing the confusions and wastes of the world. A



leader among them says: "It is upon them (the engineers) the responsibility rests, today, to shape social relations and to carry on production for the benefit of humanity."

What are these programs of the engineers? No one statement is final; but the recent book by Count Korzybski, "Manhood of Humanity," has been hailed by many as a new gospel of industrial society. Human nature—not animal nature—is to be the basis and guide of Human Engineering. Thus based and guided, Human Engineering will put an end to industrial violence, strikes, insurrections, war and revolutions.

What will this engineering program include? Our author says it will include coöperation, a common aim, and the leadership of scientists, men who know:

The economics of humanity's manhood will know and will teach that the characteristic energies of man as man are by *nature* civilizing energies, wealth-producing energies, the peaceful energies of inventive mind, of growing knowledge and understanding and skill and light; . . . that these energies . . . if they be not wasted by ignorance and selfishness, by conflict and competition characteristic of beasts, are more than sufficient to produce a high order of increasing prosperity everywhere throughout the world . . . that to produce world prosperity, coöperation . . . is both necessary and sufficient; that such coöperation demands scientific leadership and a common aim; . . . (but) that scientific knowledge and a common aim are not alone sufficient . . . that the common aim, the unifying principle, the basis of coöperation, cannot be the welfare of a family nor of a province or a state but must be the welfare of *all* mankind—the peaceful production of wealth without the destruction of war.

As an ideal or aim this seems convincing enough. Scientific leadership is a noble phrase; coöperation is a kindly, social word. But from the days of Plato to the present, social reformers have been confronted with the task of inducing people to accept leadership and to coöperate.

Our psychologists have provided an alternative program. Some of them are intimating, if not actually suggesting, that we can solve all our social problems by a rigid adherence to the teaching of a certain type of modern psychology. This psychology is now practically prepared to grade to standard levels of capacity all the people of the nation; other investigators are practically prepared to grade to corresponding standard levels of complexity all the tasks of the nation.

Naturally these two standard series of graduations have some relationships to each other. If we can early learn the predestined level of any child, we can early determine the ultimate scope of his life, and we can then train him to fit his proper niche on his proper level. This will save him from false and futile ambitions, and us from much annoyance and additional fatigue.

But this plan seems as futile as any of the rest. No short cut, no *tour de force* will serve our need. No militarism parading as social engineering will avail. We must face the issues, we must meet the hard, the unrelenting facts of life. We must begin where the community is. We must give up our propaganda, our contempt for humanity and experience, our hurried impatience, our private programs, our hope of getting the task done in time for lunch. Civilization must grow out of the soil. Its roots must be deep in human nature, and it must grow up in the actualities of human living. We must learn our biology, our psychology and our sociology so that we can understand human living. We must face the processes of education in human nature.

Modern psychology has uncovered vast areas in which lies, deceits, ignorance, repression and suppression are characteristic. Our schoolish education, accepted by our traditionally-minded community life, has been primarily responsible for these old evils. War, crime, poverty, physical and mental defects grow out of these repressed areas of our living. Vast professions have grown up, the law, medicine, the ministry, social work,—to gather up this wreckage,—for much of which our community unintelligence, and to that extent, our education, or lack of it, has been responsible. We must get rid of all that education, whether it goes on in schools, or in the back alleys of society, which results not in mental and physical health, but in misfits, in pervers, in neurotics, in criminals, in the "cases," which social work must handle. Even though a more intelligent education should be able to do away with all need of juvenile courts and social workers, we must have that better education.

Every individual must be protected in his right to know and to understand all that he is capable of knowing and understanding. The most important duty of the educator, today, is the de-

fense of this right in behalf of every child. Not mere schooling is the need; but the education that releases mind and personality into the life of the world. The hope of the future of the world is in nothing less than the released intelligence of every member of society.

After some two thousand years of so-called Christian civilization, we have ruin and wreckage on every hand. It has taken us thousands of years to produce what we now have, either of hope or of wreckage. Shall we think to escape from our problems in some miraculous moment? We face the tasks of civilization,—the task of

making the individual and the social community as intelligent as may be. No short cut will serve. No *tour de force*. No militarism. No binding of the wings of human hope by any science, psychological or other.

Nothing but education can accomplish this: not schooling; not the education of children alone; not propaganda in favor of special programs. The level of intelligence in the whole body of the community must be raised. This task cannot be ignored or avoided. It would seem to be so plain that even the way-faring man must understand.

## MR. BABBITT ARRIVES AT ERZERUM

GERALD W. JOHNSON

NO small measure of the success of the program of social legislation in North Carolina is due to the curious docility of the Tar Heel. Vigorously, even fiercely, individualistic the North Carolinian is in his own opinion and, within clearly defined limits, in fact; but he has preserved to a marked degree the practice of that representative government that elsewhere has generally faded to a theory. Six of the twelve gentlemen who represent the state in the councils of the national government have been there for more than ten years, and four of the six have been there practically since the beginning of the century, with no present prospect of retirement until they are removed from office by death. Within the state, the Governor is barred by the constitution from serving two successive terms; but included in the group that constitutes the Governor's cabinet there are several officials whose incumbency promises to end only with their lives. It is incredible that one state should have produced, in one generation, so many politicians masterly enough to trim their sails to catch every shifting breeze of popular favor. Some of these men must inevitably have made serious political blunders without losing their political heads in consequence. Therefore it is impossible to escape the conviction that the state is willing to forgive much rather than desert a tested and experienced leader.

So, indeed, it is. The state is capable of extraordinary intellectual discipline. It is also intel-

lectually inert, disliking exceedingly to be pestered by new men or new ideas; but so is every democracy. Its striking characteristic is its willingness to follow leaders to whom it has once given its confidence through formidable difficulties without losing heart. That is not inertia. It is discipline.

Nevertheless, there are limits to what may be accomplished by discipline alone. In 1914 there were no better disciplined troops in Europe than the Russians, and by sheer discipline they accomplished marvels. It is seriously to be doubted that the French could have stormed Erzerum. Yet in the end Russia blew up with a concussion that all but wrecked the alliance, which was saved only by the steadiness of the French troops. There is no doubt in the mind of any strategist as to the superiority of the French over the Russian army; but the superiority lay, not in discipline, but in morale.

To one who has watched the onward sweep of social legislation in North Carolina for the past decade there is something in the spectacle that recalls the tremendous drive of the Grand Duke Nicholas through the Caucasus. Nicholas himself, you remember, was stupefied by its success. "Erzerum was the gift of God," was his comment when that great fortress fell into his hands. In like manner, one who is able to remember the almost complete absence of modern social legislation from the statute books of North Carolina in, say, 1912, may reasonably regard the



great body of such legislation that exists today with something akin to stupefaction; its enactment seems more like a gift of God than the fruit of a campaign, no matter how well-planned and well-fought. However, it is in reality an accomplishment of discipline. The people of North Carolina have had, in the main, perfect confidence in certain leaders, in certain men and women whom the state credited with possession of unusual store of information on social legislation. These were tacitly commissioned by public opinion to fix up the legislative program to suit themselves; and the bulk of what they recommended has been written on the statute books.

As these lines are written, before the convening of the legislature of 1923, it seems highly probable that that body will provide the state with another case in point. The North Carolina Conference for Social Service will present certain recommendations involving profound and far-reaching changes in the state's system of prison legislation. If the legislature enacts the laws recommended, it will do so, not because it has made a careful and comprehensive study of prison legislation, nor in response to any widespread popular demand for prison reform, but because the individual legislator knows that his constituents regard the Conference as capable of handling the matter and is confident that whatever it recommends is more than likely to be reasonable and right. The legislator can therefore explain to his constituents frankly that he voted for the bill because it was recommended by the Conference, and the explanation will be accepted as a reasonable one.

This blind acceptance of the advice of trusted leaders has gone so far that the social legislation of North Carolina today is miles ahead of public opinion in the state. Our juvenile court system, for example, has never been thoroughly understood by the mass of the people. If North Carolinians were intelligently critical of their own system of dealing with juvenile delinquency, the juvenile courts would never have been subjected to the heavy fire under which they are suffering today, for the fire would have been turned upon the failure to provide sufficient space in the reformatories, not upon the law which prohibits sending an incorrigible boy to the penitentiary.

If the statement that the people of North Carolina are miles behind the philosophy of the

statutes under which they actually live seems a bit wild, nothing is easier than for the reader who lives in the state to check it up. Let him select among his acquaintances, say, a business man. One would not expect a fair expression of the dominant thought of the state from a day-laborer, nor from a *Philosophiae Doctor*. Take a business man, one who is neither so extremely successful that he has been able to devote the major part of his attention to other than business affairs, nor in so precarious a condition that he cannot meet the sheriff on the street without internal qualms. Take Mr. George F. Babbitt, of Greensboro, or Durham, or Charlotte, and ask him what are the social forces of his town; and if he doesn't begin to call the roll of the most prominent bridge club, he will devoutly return thanks that the socialists have never gained foothold enough in this state to have any discernible forces.

Yet Mr. Babbitt is probably heartily in favor of the work of the state board of health, in favor—if not so heartily—of the extension of the work of the reformatories and the eleemosynary institutions, in favor of the work of the state department of public welfare, and acquiescent in prison reform. These things have all been highly recommended by leaders whom he has reason to consider trustworthy; therefore he accepts them and goes about his business. What more could be asked? He has his living to make. He cannot, if he would, spend much time attending lectures and reading books on social service. He usually manages to find time to read his daily newspaper, and that is about all. It would be foolish, as well as unjust, to blame Mr. Babbitt for what he can't help; and as long as he assents to what the leaders propose, why bother him with details, anyhow?

The reason is just this: Mr. Babbitt's discipline is in for a test that discipline alone will never pass. Unless his morale is strengthened enormously, he will most certainly mutiny and that before long. The gifts of God are about all present or accounted for. Erzerum has fallen. The campaign enters upon a new phase.

The social legislation of North Carolina has hitherto proceeded along paths so well-beaten as to remove almost altogether the experimental element. All that North Carolina has done hitherto has been done so often before that practically all the great blunders that it is possible to make

have been made by others, and it would be inexcusable if we made them all over again. We have been able to learn from the experience of others what to do, how to do it, and what results to expect. Consequently, the predictions that we have made to Mr. Babbitt have come true with impressive uniformity.

Unfortunately, however, the state has come close to the end of the beaten track. Of course, there is much that it may yet do in the realm of industrial social work without leaving well-defined routes that half the world has traveled over. But only 21 per cent of the population of the state is urban and industrial; and when we approach the problems of the 79 per cent rural and agricultural we must strike out through a wilderness almost trackless.

Yet the problem of the tenant farmer is clamoring for instant attention. There are no reliable data on the subject; for while the tenant farmer has engaged attention in Denmark, in Ireland and in California, the problem in North Carolina is so enormously complicated by a one-crop system and a terrific race problem that the Danish, Irish and Californian experiences are almost worthless as a guide to North Carolina social leaders. Farm tenancy as it exists in North Carolina is, for all practical purposes, a brand-new social problem, and the only way to attack it is by the old method of trial and error.

But the method of trial and error inevitably connotes a certain percentage of reverses. We shall not solve the problem of farm tenancy in North Carolina without making some serious mistakes; and in dealing with a problem of such enormous proportions, any mistake is serious. Recollect that the moderately successful Irish Land Act cost British tax-payers \$550,000,000, and then consider Mr. Babbitt's probable attitude when he discovers that he is being let in for a job of a size to be compared with the problem of the Irish tenant!

Unless his morale has been stiffened in advance, Mr. Babbitt, in the parlance of the day, will hit the ceiling. He will hit it with a force that will jar the whole fabric of the state. Storming Erzerum is a very different thing from holding Verdun for months that run into years. Mr. Babbitt's discipline was equal to Erzerum; but he must have morale before he is sent into the trenches of Verdun, else he will emerge a raving

Bolshevist, and his erstwhile trusted social leaders will find themselves in the cellars of Ekaterinburg.

What, then, is the basis of morale? Military authorities are precise enough on the subject. They agree that it arises from a clear conception by the soldier of what he is fighting for and a belief on his part that it is so well worth fighting for that the heaviest losses are not to be regarded provided the victory is won. It follows, therefore, that Mr. Babbitt must know what the problem of farm tenancy is and what its solution will mean to North Carolina before he can be relied upon to endure the grueling campaign that will certainly be required to overcome it.

And what is true of the problem of farm tenancy is true of everything else that is characteristically rural and characteristically southern. Rural social science is clearing new ground every day, and it is hard, rough work. North Carolina, in particular, is becoming a sort of laboratory for all the south. Here, we like to believe, are being made experiments that may serve as guide-posts to the new science through all the future. But it is unquestionably an expensive business, and how is the state to be induced to stand it?

Academic instruction may be dismissed. Mr. Babbitt doesn't read THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES. Still less does he attend lectures and read books on sociology. The schools are for the next generation. Mr. Babbitt does look at the *News Letter* of the University of North Carolina occasionally, and that is helping enormously; but not even the *News Letter* dramatizes the situation to the degree that will grip his interest.

In the absence of a Charles Dickens whose genius might put the tenant farmer so starkly before Mr. Babbitt's imagination that he would be galvanized into a fury of activity, the one remaining approach is through the newspapers. Walter Lippmann has recently pointed out that the people's interests and what interests the people are not necessarily the same at all. Mr. Babbitt has an enormous stake in the success of the social program in his state; but whether or not he will read about that program depends altogether on how the facts about it are presented. The newspapers, also, depend upon him for direct support in the first place and in the second place



for the patronage that makes their advertising space vendable. Consequently, they are not going to print what will obviously bore him and tend to drive him to read another paper. Managing editors may not stop to reason it all out, but they know what is news and what isn't. And it is unfortunately true that much information concerning the social program in this state is not news in the form in which it comes to the newspapers, any more than iron is medicine to an anæmic man if it is presented in the form of a ten-penny nail.

Yet if the campaign is to proceed in this state for the next ten years at the same rate of speed that it has maintained during the last decade, some means must be devised of converting ordinary combat units into shock troops. Mr. Babbitt must learn the difference, or at least that

there is a difference, between a sociologist and a socialist; and apparently only the newspapers can teach him. So it comes down to this: the social forces of North Carolina are under the necessity, if they would consolidate their support, of devoting greatly increased proportions of their time and attention to the business of making information about their work and their plans assimilable by the newspapers. It is a publicity job, propaganda, if you please, which requires neat and delicate handling.

That may not be the scientific attitude. It may not be a number of other things. But it is sense and it is necessary.

Erzerum was the gift of God, but if Mr. Babbitt is to go on to Berlin, somebody will have to inspirit him with a rousing, if rhetorical, Order of the Day.

## GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

J. Q. DEALEY

**I**N the period of the great war President Wilson, voicing the idealism of American politics, laid stress on democracy and the principle of nationality, and also urged the formation of a world league of nations. The senate, in its rejection of the treaty of Versailles, based its argument largely on the theory of the necessity of maintaining the sovereignty of the United States intact, by keeping the nation free from entangling alliances with Europe. In other words, important national decisions, when made, are defended or explained by the political theories dominant in the minds of those who formulate national policies.

### CHANGING CONCEPTS OF STATE

Yet those familiar with the history of political theories know how completely political principles and standards have changed from age to age. The philosophy of the state in the past has been moulded by its dominant environment and changes as that changes. In a theocratic age states are said to be directly founded by God and kings rule by divine right. When philosophy flourishes, the state is based on supposed world principles of reason and justice. In revolts against tyranny and autocracy there come to the

front demands for the recognition of popular sovereignty and inherent natural rights. Stress on individualism leads to the teaching that coercive government is a nuisance and should either be abolished or endured as a "necessary evil." A legalistic age believes in "contract" as explanatory of the origin of government, a biological age emphasizes the organic nature of the state, a Darwinian era gives us the theory of the struggle of races (nations) and the survival of the fittest super-nation. The Marxian theory of economic determinism leads to the notion of class struggle and the rule of the proletarian masses. The twentieth century, by contrast, is demanding a sociological interpretation of the state. Each explanation is satisfactory for its time but should change with changing conditions.

From another aspect one might dramatically consider the state in history as a slave struggling for freedom, or as a soul seeking to express its inner self in a larger and freer world. The state has been enslaved and made a servant to theology, to philosophy and ethics, or to narrow and one-sided interpretations of its nature and life. In the course of its struggle for self-expression it has, for example, separated itself from the church, differentiated positive law from ethics,

and freed itself from bondage to autocratic ruler or sovereign mob. The state is now seeking to free itself from class control and to realize its larger possibilities by relating itself to the whole of human life rather than to any narrow expression of it.

#### SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS INTER-RELATED

The three great synthetic philosophers in sociology, Comte, Spencer, and Lester F. Ward, have in their teachings emphasized the fact that all social institutions are intrinsically related one to the other, and Crozier (among others) in his "Civilization and Progress" has sought to show the close relationship that should exist between science, religion, and the state. These writers of the past generation blazed the way leading towards the newer interpretation of political theory, that emphasizes the need of viewing political principles in the light of the larger sociological teachings of which they are a part. There are many aspects of this study of inter-relationships, but the one to which this paper will especially devote itself is the relation of the state through its governmental organization to social progress.

The term *society* as used in sociology implies an associated group of human beings, united rather closely by numerous common elements and interests, such as race, language, customs, traditions, beliefs, and interests both economic and cultural. Such groups may be small and intense in the closeness of their associational ties, or they may be large and less unified, as in national groups with diversified interests. In theory all mankind may be considered as a world-group bound loosely together by the common bonds of humanity, or, as it is sometimes put, states are members of the family of nations.

#### SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Can the term progress properly be applied to society and can there be a theory of social progress? Many doubt this and argue that human society is decadent or degenerate. On the other hand modern sociologists are quite unanimous in expressing as their mature opinion the conclusion that, in addition to the natural progress which Spencer stressed, and the material and cultural development of society so manifest in human history, there is also a possible progress through social forethought, in proportion as society ac-

quires wisdom through science, and develops insight into the truer values of human life and builds up agencies for the actualization of these. Obviously, therefore, sociology becomes deeply interested in the growth of all aspects of science, in the ethical, religious, and cultural ideals prevalent in society, and in the strengthening of the social institutions that serve as agencies for the expression of the growing life and idealism of a progressive society.

In the development of the social sciences differentiation naturally arises owing to the vastness of the field as a whole. Differentiation in itself is necessary and is excellent as long as it does not evolve into a separation of interest, involving an inability to see one's field in its relations to other fields of knowledge. Differentiation implies a common basis, a common stem, and no student should so magnify his field as to become oblivious to the larger unity of which his is merely a part. One may become so absorbed in studies of the Family, or Morals, or Religion as to lose sight of the obvious influence exerted on these by economic situations, just as one may dwell on theories of state and sovereignty to the exclusion of the teaching that these terms have no meaning whatsoever except as expressions of the unified social life and energy of which the state is merely an agent, though an important one.

#### THE STATE AND SOCIAL WELFARE

In political theory we think of the state as a sovereign unity, voicing itself through organized government in accordance with the law of the land. This law is itself supposed to be in harmony with the will of the people, who through law seek to enhance the general welfare. The essence of the whole matter is conveyed in the term *general welfare*. That is why sociology with its prevision of social betterment inclines always towards a republic (*res publica*); why it favors democracy because of the hope that the people really may determine the law of the land; and why the state is assumed to have sovereign power, under the supposition that government will be so organized that it may be the supreme arbiter in the determination of what, among many clashing interests, will prove to be in the long run *pro bono publico*. In other words there is no absolute science of the state capable of be-



ing thought out entirely apart from social situations or teachings. All political laws and principles have meaning only as they reflect the larger teachings of social philosophy. Politics and political theory can be appreciated only to the extent that their relations to sociology are clearly comprehended. Lacking this, the most logical possible explanation of political principles would likely prove to be one more *system*, to be buried in the limbo of worthless philosophies.

On the other hand political science is not merely a mild attenuation of sociology. It has its own special field and from basal scientific and sociological teachings strives to study the nature of the state, its historical development, the many laws and principles manifested in political processes, and the trend or aim of government in the utilization of the sovereign powers entrusted to it. It must work out its theories of law and sovereignty, of governmental organization and function, and of the relation of governments one to the other and to the peoples from whose consent they derive in theory their powers. But its theories of law should harmonize with social theories of folkways, mores and social standards. Its theory of sovereignty should be related to the demands of social interests seeking proper expression; and its theories of governmental functioning, of popular control, and of international relationships should not be formulated without a careful consideration of sociological teachings in respect to social organization and functioning, social control, and the psychology of groups, whether local or national. Admittedly sociology is still very far from being an exact science. Much taught at present as sociology is merely speculation, often visionary, yet with it all there is existent a body of teaching that, when assimilated into political science, should profoundly modify current political philosophy and practice.

#### SOCIOLOGICAL TEACHING AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

As concrete illustrations of this assertion, attention will now be directed to some aspects of sociological teaching that have a direct bearing on the content of political science and hence on its teachings.

In social philosophy much attention has been devoted to the study of those sciences considered as basal for sociology. For example, human be-

ings live on the earth, in the solar system, which is a part of the larger cosmos. The earth has natural resources most useful to man, such as metals, oils, waters and fertile soil. Climatic conditions, geographic situations, and the scarcity or abundance of food supplies powerfully affect the size and civilization of human groupings and hence partly determine the rise and fall of nations. This stress on the influence of physical and organic environment in determining the life and power of states should surely have political applications.

Again, no social philosophy would be complete without a consideration of Malthusian teaching in respect to the relation of population to food supply; nor without an evolutionary discussion of human origins; or the principle of natural selection with its modifications through the later teachings of Weismann, De Vries, and Mendel; nor without a comprehension of Galton's science of eugenics in both its negative and positive forms; nor without some light on the question of inherited characters in individuals and in races, with its implications as to the equality or inequality of man. Such and similar questions are so fundamental in the formulation of national policy in respect to food supply, racial admixture, and selective immigration that the neglect of such matters by the political scientist should be unpardonable.

The psychological world today is seething with newer teachings having most important social applications. As illustrations one need simply mention psychological tests, psycho-analysis, behavioristic studies of human conduct, and the many applications of social psychology to business, medicine, law, religion, and education. Political science should not ignore the fact that such teachings can be and have been applied, for example, to discipline in army and navy, to appointments in civil service, and to testimony and procedure in criminal and civil cases, to say nothing of innumerable applications in public education. Little needs to be said of the use of social psychology in war, as illustrated recently in the United States by systematic plans for the popularization of conscription, the sale of national bonds, and by the use of propaganda to further an intense patriotism and to arouse animosity against the foe.

Are there not obviously great fields of in-

formation, already assimilated by sociology, that political scientists are only just beginning to utilize? As such fields become better known and are incorporated into the content of political science, national policies both domestic and international will become much more scientific, losing thereby that dogmatic quality that now is the despair of socially-minded individuals. Any growing nation that would incorporate sociological applications into its national policies would expedite its progress by leaps and bounds.

#### GOVERNMENT AND KINDRED INSTITUTIONS

There is, however, an even more important field of sociological information derived from the study of inter-related social institutions. Stressing, as sociology does, the inherent unity of society and the close affiliation of its institutions, government as the political organization of the state must, if wisely directed, take cognizance of the needs and aims of its kindred institutions in the formulation of law and policy. Some political theorists in their zeal for their specialized science, tend to exalt the state as the one institution that should determine after its own standards the standards of other institutions, a system that would develop a dull bureaucratic uniformity. Such a paternal type of government might have justification if legislators were divinely wise, but such a supposition is of course hopelessly contrary to fact. As a reaction against extreme paternalism, others go to the other extreme in arguing that each institution should be allowed to develop its own life at will, without any interference or regulation from government. By contrast, in sociological theory social institutions form a sort of federation, society in its unity forming the "federal government" and the institutions being the commonwealths in the union. Each institution should have the right to its own self expression, subject always to the larger control in the unity as voiced by public opinion. Public opinion, however, is not to be considered as the transient thing implied in what is called "the will of the majority." Public opinion properly is not ephemeral whim nor the expression of the wish of a *mob* or *crowd* psychology. Rather it is the generalized opinion of Comte's *l'humanité*, made up (1) of the customs and traditions of past generations and (2) of present opinions and teachings, pre-

ferably those voiced by the more thoughtful part of the population, and (3) of the idealism of all men past and present as they strove or strive to forecast the future and to formulate standards for right action and social ideals that will stimulate to progressive activity. Such a mature opinion, carefully ascertained by statesmen, would be a far safer guide in determining policy than vague attempts to keep "one's ear to the ground" so as to catch the echo of every passing fancy of a changeful crowd.

Time and space will not permit anything like a complete enumeration of the sociological teachings that lend themselves to political interpretations. In general one may say that the theory of the leisure class and the question of dormant genius, so ably discussed by Ward in "Applied Sociology," are of supreme importance when government seeks to work out a policy of education that will produce a capable leadership in national life. Nor can any educational curriculum be considered at all adequate for the training of citizens unless it takes into consideration the many sided aspects of social studies.

#### CONSERVATION, INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL, AND PUBLIC WELFARE

In national life food-getting and economic considerations are so determining that social teachings in respect to coöperative distribution and a fairer division for individual consumption should not be lost sight of by an undue stress on studies of production. Nor can a nation eager for national progress afford to neglect provisions for future generations, and this would naturally lead to policies for the elimination of waste and for the conservation of natural resources, not forgetting that the wisest possible conservation would be the assurance of healthy bodies and sound minds to the children of each present generation. In passing it may be said that even the evils so common in politics, political pathology as it were, would find their best remedies in applications of the very complete set of principles that has been worked out in connection with innumerable studies aiming at social improvement in respect to social problems. In general, the principle of indirection is emphasized—substitution of a better, rather than prohibition of the worse.

A sociological study of the many social ad-



vantages of peaceful national contacts, supplementing and ultimately superseding war contacts, would, moreover, tend to promote international good will and a large comity among nations. The nations of the world, whether in a league or out of a league, must ultimately coöperate for the general social interests of all. Nations have much to learn one from the other and should adopt as their world motto, "Each for all, all for each." Sociology also lays great stress on the overwhelming importance of the spiritual values that come to a people through the idealism of morals and religion, and from the refining, elevating influences of the æsthetic. These come best from peaceful contacts, whether intra or international.

In conclusion, may it be hinted that studies in government heretofore have busied themselves too largely in discussions of governmental structure and conventional functioning, and have failed to consider seriously the problem of using government as an agency for the promotion of the general welfare? No socialistic state is needed, no Utopian form of government, nor in-

deed any special modification of the existing system. Rather what is needed is a new orientation of political science, which, having now worked out its main fields of study, should henceforth endeavor to bring these into touch with the larger social teachings of the time. There is urgent need for a socialized law with a simplified procedure, not too closely bound to the precedents of an individualistic age; there is need to infuse into the dry bones of political teachings the breath of life that comes from a knowledge of the larger movements in science and society; there is need to stress the applications of sociological teaching to national policies, both domestic and foreign, and there is surely need that "general welfare" should not be interpreted in a materialistic sense only, but be made so broadly inclusive as to include the encouragement and stimulation of those moral and spiritual values that in the long run will humanize man and socialize his activities. Under the influence of such teachings government would promote the general welfare and this would become synonymous with social progress.

## FARM TENANCY IN THE COTTON BELT: HOW FARM TENANTS LIVE

E. C. BRANSON

WE are giving to our readers, in this and subsequent issues, the results of a recent field study of farm tenant homes in a mid-state North Carolina county—for two reasons. *First*, because the reading public in general, and students of farm problems in particular the country over know very little about farm tenancy in the South, and almost nothing about its social implications. In the North and West tenancy farming is a capitalistic enterprise on the part of men with money; in the South it is a social estate on the part of moneyless men. The discussions of this problem have so far been centered on its economic aspects; in the South we are face to face with its social consequences. In the West, it is IWW-ism that challenges attention; in the South it is villeinage that begins to approach the sixteenth century type. The social and civic phases of landlessness must begin to receive attention both North and South. North Carolina is following the lead of

California, and a bill for state-aid to landless men of worthy sort is now before the state legislature. Students who want it can have it by writing to the Secretary of State at Raleigh for Substitute Senate Bill, No. 18, 1923.

*Second*, because the common current notion of the North and West is that farm tenancy in the cotton-tobacco belt is mainly a black man's problem; on the contrary it is mainly a white man's problem. White farm tenants in North Carolina outnumber black farm tenants by some ten thousand, and in the South as a whole, by some one hundred and fifty thousand. And in the cash-crop areas of the South a full third of our tenants, black and white, are croppers; and croppers are a type of farmers unknown outside the South—indeed so little known that the term itself got into the census dictionary three-quarters of a century late. In order to arouse the readers, thinkers, and leaders of North Carolina, the studies we are reproducing were concentrated

upon white farm tenants and their lot in life. The field schedules of negro farm tenant homes in the North Carolina area surveyed will be tabulated, interpreted, and passed on to the public if any general demand is evidenced.

#### THE MONEY THEY LIVE ON

"What about marrying on \$20 a month—really on \$6.00 a month in money, the balance of your cash income being held back till the end of the year? On a money income of that sort, do you think you'd have the nerve to set about establishing a home, sheltering, feeding, clothing, and safe-guarding a family in sickness and in health, and giving the children a decent chance at life?"

I shoved these questions at a young college graduate on the train the other day—a cotton buyer in a flourishing cotton-belt city.

He looked at me in amazement. "Kidding me?" said he. "Looks like it. I'm getting \$200 a month, and I can't get married. I'd be a fool to marry on any such income. It couldn't be done in my town."

"But," said I, "this is exactly what fifty-one farmers have had the nerve to do in one small corner of a mid-state county in North Carolina. Thirty-eight of them are tenants, who handled in 1921 a household average of \$250.64 in cash in the run of the year or just a little more than \$20 a month. Thirteen are croppers with a household average of \$153.27 in cash or a little less than \$13 a month. And they are not negro farmers. They are white farmers—tenants to be sure, but native born whites of your race and mine."

"How in the name of the Holy-Pink-Toed Prophet do they do it?" he said. By which epithet, I gathered that he had been chumming with Cappy Ricks o'nights around the office stove.

"Well," said I, "they have no house rent to pay—that's everywhere free in this blessed land of cottontots; and no coal bills, for fire-wood is still abundant and free on every farm in North Carolina. Their grocery bills are small, because the farm itself furnishes from three-fourths to four-fifths of the food they eat—vegetables, milk and butter, poultry and eggs, and a little home-raised pork. And then they have various fruits and game in season, by grace of their landowning neighbors or the free gift of the fields. The landlords want their share of the corn and the

cash-crop money, but everything else the tenants produce is freely their own. They have plenty to eat and wear, sheer existence considered. It is impossible to starve or freeze in the country regions of North Carolina. God Almighty made the state to be a paradise for poor folks."

He came back at me promptly. "But," said he, "they need money for shoes and head-wear; they need money for doctors, midwives and dentists, for prescriptions and patent medicines at the drug store, for the contribution box at the church on Sundays, for taxes and insurance, for gas and oil, for chewing tobacco and snuff and a cigar once in a while, for gun shells and fishing tackle, for school books, newspapers and victrolas, for movies, ice-cream cones and bottled drinks, for fairs, circuses, and street carnivals in the occasional trips to town."

"Sure," I said. "And after paying the family bill for bread, bonnets and paregoric, how much do you think they have left for social servants like teachers, preachers, and doctors, for social institutions like churches, schools and colleges, for state and county treasuries, and for petty self-indulgences?"

"They couldn't have much ready money left over for any such purpose as these," said he. "After paying my room rent, cafeteria charges, haberdashery bills, bootblack and barber fees, pressing-club dues, newspaper and magazine subscriptions, and various inescapable incidental expenses, I had only \$150 left over last year, and the doctors got every cent of that before I had any chance to spend it on a good time Christmas. I didn't wind up the year in debt, but I was barely on the safe side of the dead-line. I think I did pretty well, better in fact than most of the fellows. But as for getting married on \$200 a month—nix! I'd be an idiot to do it."

"But," I said, "on a money average of \$20 a month these fifty-two white tenant farmers not only kept themselves and their families alive, but twenty-five of them were out of debt at the end of the year. And more, they have actually accumulated \$23,277 in personal property—in workstock, farm implements, household goods and utensils, automobiles, guns, and dogs; and their debts all told were only \$4,100. Debts counted out, they are nearly \$20,000 ahead of the game."

"Well, all I've got to say," he replied, "is that



they are some financiers! They've got more sense than I've got. If you are giving me straight dope, don't ever again let anybody talk to you about stupid, lazy tenant farmers."

"But say," said he, "how do these people live? How do they keep soul and body together on an average of thirteen to twenty dollars a month in money? What are their standards of living? What are their notions of comfort and culture? They are not starved nor even half-starved in body, you say, but they must be wholly starved in mind—halt and maimed and blind in spirit! What can they look forward to? Can they ever hope to be anything but underling farmers, disadvantaged and under-privileged, they and their children and their children's children to the remotest generation?"

All of which are tremendously important questions. They concern 63,487 white farm tenants in North Carolina. With their families they number 317,500 souls, or nearly one-fifth of the entire white population of the state. Who are these people? Why are they farm tenants instead of farm owners? On what level do they live? What are their hopes and fears? What chance have they to rise out of farm tenancy into farm ownership?

#### A CLOSE-UP STUDY

John Smith—Tenant, is a piteous figure, as MacNeill's pen gives him to us in the *News and Observer*. But John Smith, the Wayne county tenant who took the first prize for diversified farming, at the state fair last year, is quite another study. We know much about this or that tenant farmer, but in the South we know almost nothing about our white tenant farmers as a class. And landlords know much about the tenant farmer as an economic factor in the business of farming, but they know very little about him as a social and civic asset or liability in community life and commonwealth development. In cold figures we know nearly all there is to know about farm tenants the country over—the number, the ratios, the types, and the increases or decreases in each state since 1880; and, in recent years in certain closely surveyed areas in the South and Middle West, cold figures have told us much about their farm practices, their labor incomes, and the havoc they work upon soils and farm buildings. But we know much less, in most

states nearly nothing, about the tenant as a human being—his home life, his church and school interests, his habits and hopes, and the part he has played in lifting or lowering the level of civilization in his home community. We have reckoned him in dollars and cents; we have not yet appraised him as a home-maker or as a community builder or destroyer in free American democracies. We have known very little about him as a citizen and we have cared less—or so until very recently in this and other states.

What we need is a close-up study of the 317,000 souls in the families of the white tenants of North Carolina. And it must be a keenly sympathetic study or we shall fail to understand and interpret aright the facts we find.

#### THE TENANCY AREA SURVEYED

In order to supply this need, at least in part, Mr. J. A. Dickey, an A.M. graduate of the State University, spent the three summer months of 1922 in 329 farm homes of Baldwin and Williams townships in the northeast corner of Chatham county. They were the homes of practically all the farmers of this small area—the homes of owners and tenants, white and black.

Chatham is a mid-state county situated along the Fall Line, on the eastern edge of the Piedmont region of the state. The cotton and tobacco counties of the Coastal Plain adjoin it on the east and south, and on the north and west lie the grain, hay, and forage counties of the state. It is a land of rolling hills, abundant water courses, and rich bottom soils—a natural livestock region. The fertility of the soil is attested by the fact that in the olden days it was the seat of a slave-holding aristocracy. Neither slavery nor tenancy ever flourished in poor soils anywhere in the South. There were 729 slave-holding families in Chatham in 1860. Only six counties of the state had more slave-holders and only sixteen contained more slaves. Nevertheless there were in Chatham nearly 1800 white families who owned no slaves. They outnumbered the slave-owning families more than two to one.\* Many of these non-slave-holding fam-

\* The ratio of non-slave-holding to slave-holding families was roughly three to one in North Carolina as a whole, and in the twelve slave-holding states of the South. Of the 126,000 white families in North Carolina in 1860 only 35,000 held slaves; and of the 1,273,000 white families in the South only 355,000 families were slave-holders. Data abstracted from the 1860 census.

ilies in Chatham owned small farms on the poorer soils of the ridges; some were artisans—carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors and the like; some were farm laborers getting \$75 a year and board—rarely ever more; some were renters and others were overseers on the slave plantations; most of them were illiterate—the exceptions were few, and all alike belonged to a lower social estate. The negroes called them “poor white trash.” Today the descendants of these 1800 families are almost entirely the farm owners of the county. Their trend has been steadily upward these last sixty years. The aristocracy of the old slave plantation died out or moved away long years ago. Hardly a vestige of the old social order remains. The history of Chatham since the war, like that of many another remote slave county, is the story of a middle class rising slowly and clumsily into democratic self-rule.

The county was long without railroads. Even now the middle and upper half of Chatham lacks railroad facilities; and only within the last eighteen months are the public roads of the county beginning to attain to the standards of modern life. In the remoter corners of Chatham, as in Williams and Baldwin townships, country schools are poorly housed and poorly supported. Here the little one-teacher school is still the rule. Local school taxes for consolidated schools and transportation trucks are only just now being considered. Aside from Bynum, a little cotton mill village of forty-odd dwellings in the southeast corner of Baldwin township, there are no towns or villages in this area. The farmers are settled in solitary dwellings (only three to the square mile) as almost everywhere else in the rural South. The thirteen roadside stores, the ten schools, and the twelve churches are the centers of country neighborhood life for whites and blacks alike.

Without convenient market facilities, the farms have naturally been devoted in the main to bread-and-meat production for home consumption. Cotton and tobacco are the small money crops. Corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, milk and butter, poultry and pork are the abundant staples of existence. The farm population is upstanding and sturdy, robust and vigorous. The signs of degeneracy are rare, and I say this hav-

ing in mind the natives left in the farm regions of the North and East.

But the money the farmers handle from year to year is too little to encourage them to place their schools and local public roads on a basis of liberal tax support. The county is an area designed by nature for diversified farming and well balanced farm systems, but the farmers of Chatham must devote themselves to money crops in larger measures. This fundamental fact cannot be too greatly emphasized in this report. It is the outstanding economic necessity revealed in this study. No farm system can be a satisfactory basis for progressive civilization unless it have money products in abundant measure. The farmers must have markets for their money crops and ready money in circulation far beyond anything Mr. Dickey found in the northeast corner of Chatham. Without a larger volume of ready money for daily needs, the landowners, tenants, and croppers of the two townships surveyed have a poor chance to keep step with the rest of North Carolina.

#### LIVING ON 23 CENTS A DAY PER PERSON

The survey figures are startling. The total gross money income of the 329 farmers of Williams and Baldwin townships in Chatham county in 1921 was only \$144,041, and of this grand total \$27,162 was produced by work on public roads, bridges and buildings—much of it by work on the buildings under erection on the campus of the State University, by casual labor at odd jobs in the nearby towns, by state and federal pensions, allotments and the like.

In detail the gross money income figures are as follows:

	Sale of Farm Products	Other Cash Income	Total Money Income	Average Per Family
ALL FARMS				
135 white owners .....	\$ 72,218	\$12,325	\$ 84,553	\$626.24
41 negro owners .....	18,706	3,002	21,708	529.46
102 negro tenants ....	17,867	8,396	26,263	257.49
51 white tenants ....	8,077	3,439	11,517	225.80
329 farmers .....	\$116,868	\$27,162	\$144,041	\$437.81

The average per person in these 329 farm families was only 23 cents a day! The cash in circulation in the homes of the fifty-one white tenants was only twelve cents a day per person, only fourteen cents a day per person in the homes of the negro tenants, only thirty-two cents a day per person in negro farm-owner homes,



and only thirty-four cents a day per person in white farm-owner homes!

Here certainly is life reduced to its very lowest terms in money. How could anybody, black or white, live on less money and live at all? How can white tenants on a daily cash income of twelve cents a day per person ever buy and pay for farms of their own? They do it—fifty-seven of the white farm-owners of this particular territory have done it during the last twenty years. And on fourteen cents a day per person, thirty-four negro farm renters and croppers have risen into farm ownership during the same period. The average cash income of tenants in this area has probably been less than fifteen cents a day per person throughout this entire period. They do it, but how they do it passes understanding. And moreover they have done it by self-effort alone. Not one of these ninety-one farm owners, of either race, received his land by inheritance, gift or marriage.

Can this record be beat in any other state of the Union? This is what I have in mind when I say that God Almighty made North Carolina to be a paradise for poor folks—that is to say, for the average poor man content with merely keeping soul and body together in the country regions. But for the poor man who aspires to own his own farm the state is a purgatory. If the farm is ever paid for, it must be paid for in pinching self-denial, in the field work of his wife and children, and in the lack of school advantages, newspapers, magazines, and noble books. How could it be otherwise on an average money income of fifteen cents a day per person?

The figures of average daily cash income on the farms of these two townships in Chatham county are a cue to the cash farm incomes of North Carolina in general. The averages are larger in the all-cash-crop counties of the cotton and tobacco belt proper, at least in exceptional years, but all in all our farmers everywhere handle too little money in the run of the year; and their surpluses even in the best years are too small to serve as any safe basis on which to build a commonwealth. Here is the reason why the accumulated personal property of white tenants averages only \$526 per family, only \$426 per white cropper family, only \$409 per black renter family, and only \$123 per black cropper family!

The same facts explain why the accumulated wealth in farm properties—farm land, buildings, livestock and implements alone—was only \$567 per country inhabitant in Chatham county as a whole in 1920; and only \$684 the state over.

These are pitiful figures when contrasted with \$1,836, the average wealth per farm dweller in the United States as a whole, with \$7,260 in South Dakota, and with \$8,113 in Iowa.

There is too little ready cash in circulation in the country regions of North Carolina and too little accumulated wealth. Until both are multiplied many times over, the twelve hundred thousand farm people of North Carolina are a mired wheel in our civilization.

The state as a whole is rich, but our farmers are poor—in Chatham and in every other county of North Carolina.

The farm homes studied by Mr. Dickey were the homes of white farm owners, negro farm owners, negro renters and croppers, and white renters and croppers. In the main, this chapter is concerned with the 51 white renters and croppers. Not that we lack interest in the negro tenants and croppers, but because these negro farmers are working out their own salvation in most amazing fashion—in Chatham just as everywhere else in the cotton-belt South, at least in every area where the blacks are thinly scattered among white majorities.

Thus Mr. Dickey's studies concern a small section of the large problem of white farm tenancy in North Carolina and the South.

#### ECONOMIC CLASSES AND LEVELS

1. *The Farm Owners.* The land of these two Chatham county townships is owned by 176 landlords—135 white and 41 black. Their accumulated wealth in 1921—in farm lands, buildings, livestock, implements and machinery, household goods and utensils and other personal properties—was \$624,642 for the whites and \$93,856 for the blacks. Which is an average of 4,627 per white farm owner, and \$2,407 per black farm owner. Thirteen of them run small roadside stores. All but sixty-one are active farmers, living on and cultivating a portion of their lands and letting out the rest to renters and croppers. Twenty are absentee-landlords living in other counties—mainly in Chapel Hill. Much

or most of the land of the farm owners is lying idle, because farm labor has drifted into the cotton mills at Carrboro, Bynum and elsewhere, or is getting better wages at public work on roads, bridges and buildings, or in hauling, jitney driving, and odd jobs of various sorts in nearby towns. Farming in these two townships is at a low ebb, for lack of renters, croppers and wage hands.

2. *The Tenants.* The tenants number 153—white 51 and black 102. The ratio of tenants to all farmers is therefore 46.5 per cent or nearly half, against 35.8 per cent in the county-at-large, and 43.5 per cent in the state-at-large. The 51 white tenants have accumulated personal property amounting to \$23,277 which is an average of only \$456 per family. The 102 black tenants hold property amounting to \$31,430, an average of \$308 per family. The families of the black and white tenants, as you see, are not very far apart in worldly goods.

The tenants of both races fall into two classes, namely renters and croppers. The white renters are 38 and the white croppers are 13. The black renters are 66 and the black croppers are 36.

All the tenants are farming under one-year contracts, and all the contracts are informal and unwritten. Tenant leases in writing are nowhere common in the South.

(1) *The Renters.* A renter is a tenant who owns his own workstock and farm implements—enough to "run himself," as the phrase goes. As a rule he pays three-fourths of the fertilizer bill and gets two thirds of the corn and three-fourths of the cash crop money. All of everything else the renter produces, except the cotton seed, is his. The details and ratios vary a little here and there according to what the renter furnishes and also according to the fertility of the farm. The renters are the upper-crust of the tenants, the top of the pot, as they say in our farm regions. They rank next to the landlords in the ownership of property—mainly personal property. They own something more than their household goods. In a small way they own the tools of their trade, and enjoy a fairly large measure of independent self-direction. I may add that tenant and renter are interchangeable terms in Chatham and generally throughout the South.

(2) *The Croppers.* A cropper is a tenant who is staked by the landlord—is "run by the landlord," in the common phrase of our country regions. He owns little or nothing but the simple things in and around his cabin. Usually he owns no workstock and no farm implements, or not enough to count in the year's bargain with the landlord. Everything is furnished by the landlord—land, dwelling, firewood, workstock, implements, and from time to time small advances of money and pantry supplies to help him produce the crops. He pays half the fertilizer bill and gets half the corn and the cash crop money. Everything else except the cotton seed is his. Against the cropper's half of the crop money, the landlord charges the cropper's debts for advances and the cropper's share of the fertilizer bills. Croppers are "havers" (halfers) as the phrase goes, with little or nothing to invest in farming except the bare labor of themselves and their families. They are so-called because they get not two-thirds or three-fourths of the corn and the cash crop money, as in the case of the renters, but only half. As in case of the renter, the cropper's rent details vary somewhat on different farms.

Croppers are distinctly the under-crust of the farmers in the South—the bottom-rail, the underdog, in country phrase. They are a type of farm population that is almost unknown in the North and West, but they have been a most significant fact in Southern agriculture for more than a half century. Nevertheless the term did not get into the census dictionary until 1920—a strange oversight, considering the fact that 225,000 or a full fourth of all the white tenants in the thirteen cotton and tobacco states of the South are croppers. In North Carolina the ratio is one-fourth, and in Chatham it is one-fourth, and in Baldwin and Williams townships it is one-fourth. One-fourth looks like a fatal ratio for the submerged white croppers of the South. The croppers in particular are The Forgotten Men that Walter H. Page wrote about—The Men Whom God Forgot, in the phrase of Robert W. Service.

#### ACCUMULATED PROPERTY AND GROSS MONEY INCOMES

How little renters and croppers own and how little money they handle during the year appears



in the following table, covering the year 1921 in Baldwin and Williams townships of Chatham county.

Economic Classes	Property Owned	Owned Per Family	Total Cash Income	Cash Per Family
135 white owners .....	\$624,642	\$4,627	\$ 84,553	\$626
41 black owners .....	93,856	2,407	21,708	597
38 white renters .....	19,999	526	9,525	251
13 white croppers .....	3,279	426	1,993	153
66 black renters .....	27,016	409	19,053	289
36 black croppers .....	4,113	123	2,777	197
329 farmers .....	\$772,905	\$2,349	\$139,609	\$424

In order to render more vivid the money-bare condition of the farmers in Williams and Baldwin townships in Chatham, we are tabulating the money handled in their homes per person per day in 1921. Throughout this study we are speaking of the gross money income of these farmers. And bear in mind (1) that 69 per cent of this income was derived from farming, most of which came in lump sums in the fall when their cotton and tobacco were sold, and (2) that 31 per cent of it was produced by other interests and activities more or less casual. This casual income was the ready money they handled from day to day. The bulk of their cash was not in hand till the market season at the end of the year.

The average daily cash income of these 329 farmers in 1921 was as follows:

Economic Classes	Family Cash Per Year	Daily Cash Per Person
135 white owners .....	\$626	34 cents
41 black owners .....	597	32 "
38 white renters .....	251	14 "
13 white croppers .....	153	8 "
66 black renters .....	289	16 "
36 black croppers .....	197	10 "

If these were not actual figures reported in person by the farmers themselves, they would be absolutely unbelievable. How can farm tenants live and keep their families alive on average actual cash incomes ranging from eight to sixteen cents a day per family member? How can they afford to wait ten or twelve months for the balance of their money? The answer is, They couldn't but for (1) the meagre credit of the supply stores, and (2) the advances of their landlords—small sums of money and pantry supplies from time to time. And when their crop money comes in later, their debts consume it almost to the last cent.

Such is the economic status of 153 renters and

croppers, black and white, or nearly half of all the farmers in this little area of the cotton-tobacco belt in the South—the status of 51 or more than a fourth of all the white farmers, the status of 102 or nearly three-fourths of all the negro farmers, in Williams and Baldwin townships in Chatham county, North Carolina.

As the farm tenants are in this little corner of Chatham, so they are in general throughout the state and every other state in the South.

The concentration of farm property in the hands of the landowners and the amazingly low levels of farm tenants in property ownership appear at a glance. In detail the facts are as follows: (1) a little more than half of all the farmers, both races counted into the total, are landowners, but they own more than nine-tenths of all the property. (2) The black farm owners are a little more than a fourth of all the negro farmers, but they own three-fourths of all the negro property. (3) The white farm owners are nearly three-fourths of all the white farmers, but they own ninety-seven per cent of all the white property.

Farm areas in general are distinctly characterized by the equable distribution of property, but not so in Southern farm tenancy areas. The disparity in property ownership between farm owners and farm tenants is startling. Such farm wealth as we have in the South is in the hands of the farm owners. It is so in the case of both races. What the tenants own—renters or croppers—is nearly nothing. The drawl of a white cropper exhibits it with photographic accuracy; "Ain't no trouble fer me to move. I ain't got nothing much but er soap gourd and er string er red-peppers. All I got to do is ter call up Tige, spit in the fire place, and start down ther road."

But the essential disparity lies in the ownership of land or the lack of such ownership. The tenants as a class own no land. They own a little personal property, but no land. The ownership of land is just as significant today as it was ten centuries ago when the Saxons coined the phrases: "The land is the man; no land, no man; who owns the land owns the man; who owns the land rules the realm."

Landownership and liberty go hand in hand in every land under Heaven under any form of government. Freedom—economic, social and polit-



ical—lies essentially in the ownership of farms in the countryside, and homes in the towns and cities. Landless farm tenants and homeless city dwellers are a rapidly increasing body of people everywhere in America. Already they are a majority in twenty-one states of the Union—in the great industrial area north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, they are now an overwhelming majority. And some day these people must be reckoned with en masse. Macaulay's prophecy set 1937 as the fateful year of reckoning between the Haves and Havenots in America. The beginnings of this time, said Lord Bryce in 1910, lie not more than twenty years ahead. America in her swift onward progress—he goes on to say—sees, looming on the horizon and now no longer distant, a line of mists and shadows wherein dangers may lie concealed, whose form and magnitude she can scarcely yet conjecture.<sup>1</sup> The common condition of landlessness will at last breed a common likemindedness. Signs of it appear with increasing frequency of late—as for instance in Texas in the last state election—and they are disquieting. Can a civilization forever endure on the basis of political freedom and economic serfdom? At bottom this is the issue that is being fought out in England at this very minute—with ballots, in the English way. Soon or late this is the fundamental issue that America faces, and let us hope that it can be faced in the English and not in the Russian way.

#### CASH INCOME LEVELS

The landowning farmers and the landless tenants, in the Chatham area surveyed, are far apart in the possession of property. There is less distance between them in the annual average cash handled per household. David R. Coker of Hartsville, S. C., reckoned the average cash incomes on the cotton farms of the South at \$600.<sup>2</sup>

In our survey, the average cash income of 135 white farm owners was \$626 or a little above Mr. Coker's estimate; it was \$597 or a trifle below for the 41 black farm owners. As for the tenants, it ranged from \$153 for the white croppers to \$289 for the black renters. The average gross cash income for the 329 farmers, owners and tenants, black and white, was only \$424 in 1921

or nearly a full third less than Mr. Coker's estimate.

These annual cash incomes are in striking contrast with \$881.90 the average necessary money income for a family of three, and with \$1,501.45 the average for a family of six in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, as reported by the National Industrial Conference Board, in February 1922.

The black farm owners and the white farm owners were nearly on a level in annual cash incomes per family; and the negro renters were well above the white renters. The black croppers occupy the next level and the white croppers foot the column. The croppers, white and black, handle less than \$200 in cash in the run of the year.

The cash incomes of the white farm owners are reduced to a small measure by the idle unproductive land they own. Their main wealth is in land. They are land-poor today, as our landowners were in the days immediately following the war of 1860-65. Nevertheless they hold these profitless lands with grim determination. No other business men on earth would hold on to dead capital in such large measure.

The inadequacy of these cash incomes is better realized when they are reduced to the daily cash per household member.

The table is as follows:

Cash Income Classes	Daily Cash Per Person
1. White farm owners .....	34 cents
2. Black farm owners .....	32 "
3. Black renters .....	16 "
4. White renters .....	14 "
5. Black croppers .....	10 "
6. White croppers .....	8 "

The advantage of the landless negro farmer over the landless white farmer is plainer than print.

But aside from the question of class levels, the bare facts of daily money income per household member are arresting—or they ought to be.

Everybody knows about the picayune daily wage of pauper labor in the Far East. We have the same thing in the cotton-belt of the South. We had vague notions about this thing, but here are the facts or a small cross section of the facts. Half of all our Southern farmers, counting blacks and whites together, are tenants, and a full third of these tenants are croppers. For

<sup>1</sup> *The American Commonwealth*, volume II, pp. 912-13, 1910 edition.

<sup>2</sup> Address before the Cosmos Club, Columbia, S. C., October 22, 1922.

long years they have been producing cotton on a pauper level at a pauper daily wage in money.

Will they continue to do it? For a half century they have stuck to this back-breaking, heart-breaking task because of use and wont and custom. Will they keep it up forever? It does not seem likely. These submerged farmers cannot produce cotton under boll weevil conditions and keep soul and body together—or not at any prices that cotton has brought at any time during the last forty years.

And if they quit? Well, if they do, the merchants and bankers of the South will face bankruptcy and the cotton spinners of the country will be in sore straits.

And about these facts of gross cash incomes in money, per person in farmer households, this may be said—they are facts.

We do not know and probably never will know the exact cost of producing a pound of cotton on any farm in any community of any state. The cost varies according to the season, the size of the farm, the industry, the technical skill and the managerial ability of the farmer; and reliable facts are difficult to assemble because book-keeping and cost accounting are rare in farm areas. The best we have been able to learn about the cost of producing cotton is barely better than a mathematical guess more or less approximate.

And we know almost as little about the net labor income of the cotton farmer. It is a problem of the same character and complexity as that of reckoning the unit cost of cotton production,

and the usual results of farm income surveys in the cotton belt are little more than arithmetical approximations.

But we can know about the gross money incomes of farmers. That information is as simple as abc's. We know about the gross money incomes of 329 farmers in two Chatham county townships in 1921—about (1) the cash incomes sourced in farm activities and interests, and (2) the casual money received from all other sources.

And no matter what their net incomes were, their gross incomes in money were a beggar's pittance, ranging from eight cents a day per person in the household of white croppers to 34 cents per person in the household of white farm owners.

Why ask about the net money incomes of people with pitiful money rewards of this sort? We know without asking that surplus cash for comforts and luxuries, for teachers and preachers, for books and papers, for church causes and tax treasuries is scarce—how scarce these farmers alone know; and this scarcity imperils every forward movement in the community and in the commonwealth alike.

Here is the explanation of the farmer's interest in taxes and tax propositions. His interest is simple and single—he is opposed as a class to anything that increases his taxes. And his opposition is not sourced in stupidity nor in miserly reluctance: it is sourced in a collapsed pocket book.

## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND THE CROWD SPIRIT

JESSE F. STEINER

IT has been well said that this is an age of crowds. No matter what the issue to be decided, the tendency is to place reliance upon the emotional appeal rather than upon arguments. Wherever men band themselves together in behalf of any cause, great stress is laid upon slogans and watchwords. The devices of skilled propagandists are resorted to in order to win the support of a constituency. The reluctant and indifferent public is whipped into line by sensational advertising that flaunts itself on every hand. Too often it seems to be taken for granted

that thoughtful deliberation is out of date and that appeals to intelligence based on actual facts bring in very limited returns. In the vivid words of Martin:

"Our society is becoming a veritable babel of crowds. Not only are mob outbreaks and riots increasing in number, but every interest, patriotic, religious, ethical, political, economic, easily degenerates into a confusion of propagandist tongues, into extravagant partisanship, and intemperance. . . .

"Whether it is temperance, or justice, or greater freedom, moral excellence or national glory, that we desire—whether we happen to be conservatives or radi-



cals, reformers or liberals, we must become a cult, write our philosophy of life in flaming headlines, and sell our cause in the market. No matter if we meanwhile surrender every value for which we stand, we must strive to cajole the majority into imagining itself on our side. For only with the majority with us, whoever we are, can we live. It is numbers, not values, that count—quantity not quality. Everybody must 'moral crusade,' 'agitate,' 'press-agent,' play politics. Everyone is forced to speak as the crowd, think as the crowd, understand as the crowd. The tendency is to smother all that is unique, rare, delicate, secret. If you are to get anywhere in this progressive age you must be vulgar, you must add to your vulgarity unction. You must take sides upon dilemmas which are but half true, change the tempo of your music to ragtime, eat your spiritual food with a knife, drape yourself in the flag of the dominant party. In other words you must be 'one hundred per cent' crowd man."\*

That this characterization of present day tendencies is timely seems apparent from even a cursory examination of our most ordinary community activities. In the field of politics the crowd spirit plays an exceedingly important part. The political leader is well aware that far more is to be gained by the use of high sounding platitudes and well worn phrases than by intellectual appeal. Whether it be the absurd spectacle of a stampeded political convention or the more subtle attempts to control the votes of the rank and file in every community, the methods followed are fundamentally similar. So widespread have become these practices, that skill in handling men in mass is recognized as one of the first requisites of the political leader. In such a regime politics as the science of government—the "noblest of the sciences"—seems sadly far fetched and the politician as a leader of men, a hopeless misfit. Even in the field of education how dangerously near the crowd method we approach in our standardized efforts to mold the child in accord with our will and instill into his mind a reverence for the status quo. And possibly even more significant is the effect on educational policy of the mass appeal of the popular demand for something the folk want but know not what. In religion how appropriate straight thinking is on this subject may be seen from the skill with which the professional evangelist transcends in his appeal to the crowd the methods and policies of those progressive churches that place their reliance upon sound principles of re-

ligious education. The manipulation of crowds in the excitement and enthusiasm of the revival service is still in some quarters a recognized form of religious work and as a result religious expression is all too frequently bound up with intense emotionalism, suggestibility, and other manifestations of crowd phenomena. In industry and business as well examples of the crowd spirit are legion. It is only necessary to call attention to the work of the labor agitator, the varied devices of the salesman, and the methods of the capitalist reactionary to indicate how securely it is entrenched in the economic field.

In an equally striking manner the widespread prevalence of the crowd spirit is illustrated in the programs and rituals of certain civic and fraternal organizations that have had such a vogue during recent years. While the membership of these organizations is largely made up of business and professional men who individually would resent any imputation of sentimentality and emotionalism, yet collectively in their club meetings they lay great stress upon ritualistic devices as a means of securing unity of spirit and the proper degree of enthusiasm. Singing popular songs in which all are expected to join, snappy speeches full of platitudes reiterating the ideals of the group, stimulation of the spirit of comradeship by the use of nicknames, horseplay, and good humored badinage, and efforts to secure united action by the force of suggestion and emotional appeal are characteristic features without which it is felt that their meetings would be uninteresting and futile. Clubs of this kind cannot be satisfactorily explained on the ground that they represent groups of men banded together for the promotion of important civic interests. The civic and social welfare issues which are always kept in the foreground and associated with great earnestness and sincerity are primarily the purpose of justifying to themselves and to the public the existence of the organization. The fundamental reason for the continued popularity of these clubs is found in the enhancement of personality and feeling of enrichment of life made possible by their enthusiastic and harmonious meetings. The secret of their success lies in the ritual which brings all under the domination of the crowd spirit and thus adds a zest to life not found in their ordinary associations.

The rapid spread of the Ku Klux Klan fur-

\* Martin, *Behavior of Crowds*, pp. 6-8.



nishes another outstanding example of the extent to which the crowd spirit has permeated present day community life. In explanation of the recent revival of this old organization various reasons have been advanced. Without doubt it is essentially a crowd movement stimulated and enhanced by the conditions following in the wake of the late war. In the South especially the organization exerts a powerful appeal because it revives memories of earlier achievements when its members rendered valuable service to the state. Supported by this worthy tradition which is translated into modern terms by the slogan, "one hundred per cent American," the Klan has cast over it the glamour of service needed to gain popular approval. When to this is added its secret membership, secret meetings, and its uncanny disguise, it is apparent that it is admirably adapted to become a powerful crowd movement. Inferior individuals deprived of the opportunity of achievement in their daily life can masquerade under cover of their mask as persons of importance and enjoy that expansion of self that grows out of intimate association with a powerful group. Since our whole society seems infected with the crowd spirit, intelligent and influential people, as well, are swept off their feet by the appeal of the Klan and blindly lend their support to its further progress.

When we turn to the field of social welfare and community work, there is abundant evidence that the crowd spirit is exerting a very considerable influence. For example, the financial drives of the welfare federations and community chests with their campaign speeches, graphic appeals for support, carefully organized publicity, banners, slogans, and devices to keep up the morale of competing teams of workers, make every effort to go over the top on the crest of a wave of popular enthusiasm. For months preceding the drive the emphasis may be on education and organization, but the drive itself, if successful, becomes almost inevitably a crowd movement.

Another illustration of this same tendency is seen in the promotion of community agencies by the use of the mass meeting. Theoretically, such meetings are designed to give the largest possible participation of the people in the building up of the organization. But in practice they are fre-

quently planned with the sole purpose of giving expression to the will of those on the inside of the movement. The resolutions are carefully prepared in advance of the meeting and suitable persons are asked to present them. Others may be requested to be ready to occupy all the time set apart for discussion. The meeting is not conducted as an open forum with full opportunity for the presentation of all sides. It is simply a prearranged attempt to get the people in attendance to endorse the plan conceived and fostered by a few interested leaders. And in producing this result emphasis is placed on inspirational addresses that reiterate the point of view of the promoters until critical thought is dulled and all become suggestible to the ideas advanced.

A further example of the control of the mass of the people in the interests of community work is found in the carefully arranged publicity and the means used for its dissemination. One of the first requisites of an up-to-date community agency is well organized methods of providing the public with the information that experience has shown is most likely to secure favorable support. Where possible this is done through a paid publicity staff. At all events there must be a publicity committee composed of persons skilled in the popular presentation of their ideas. Under the direction of such writers the news given out concerning the work of the agency frequently takes the form of propaganda instead of being a mere statement of facts for the information of the public. The people learn only what it is thought best for them to know and this is presented in a popular rather than in a critical manner. This use of organized publicity tends to warp the judgment of those who come under its influence and makes it exceedingly difficult for the public to weigh intelligently the merits of any issue.

Another illustration of recent tendencies in social work is the father and son banquet that has become popular in many communities. A small number of people have their interest aroused by the fact that juvenile delinquency seems to be increasing. Observation and study may show that this is a result in a number of cases of boys drifting away from the influence of their fathers. A decade ago this might have been regarded as a problem demanding individual

treatment in the families concerned. But at the present time to rely on the case work method alone would be thought to be entirely inadequate. These unfortunate failures in family life must be approached from the point of view of community responsibility. The situation must therefore be dealt with by utilizing the pressure of public opinion. In order to develop right relationships in the delinquent homes, the value of the comradeship of father and son is demonstrated in a spectacular way by arranging a father and son banquet. As a result of eating together in a large group and listening to speeches suited to the occasion a new spirit is supposed to be engendered which will have a stimulating effect on proper parental supervision. In other words the problem is to be solved by the organization of a popular movement intended to dramatize the ideal relationship of fathers and sons for the benefit of those families where parental responsibility has been breaking down.

The above illustrations, which might easily be multiplied in number, are sufficient to indicate both the American tendency to organize for all conceivable purposes and the methods commonly employed to make this organization effective. As soon as a wrong is discovered which should be righted or a reform appears desirable, those most directly interested begin to study and plan how to increase their influence and persuade others to join them in their purposes. To rely upon organization designed to promote its ends through discussion and education seems too slow and futile. Present day leaders demand a more rapid and stimulating procedure. The crowd spirit must be appealed to in an effort to put their cause over in an orgy of enthusiasm that sweeps all opposition before it. It thus becomes a commonly accepted device by which a minority hold the whip hand over large numbers of people. And more remarkable still, as has already been suggested, small and exclusive groups make use of this crowd spirit as they would a stimulating drug to furnish the emotional thrills denied them in the routine of daily toil.

Against this mania for the promotion of causes through emotional appeals, the community organization movement stands out as a vigorous protest. Fundamentally it is a call to the people of a community to take stock of themselves and

their problems in a dispassionate manner and through discussion and the exercise of deliberative judgment to work out means for the correlation of their social forces. Of course since there is involved in this task the necessity of persuading people to work together for what is conceived to be their mutual welfare, the community organizer finds convenient for his use the tools of the propagandist. Instead of achieving his ends through the formation of discussion groups and the deliberation of committees and agencies, he has the opportunity of adapting to his purposes the methods of the revivalist and the political orator. That this is a very real problem is seen from the examples of the crowd spirit in social welfare work mentioned above. In many instances there can be no doubt that the community organization movement has been swept from its moorings and has become simply one more voice calling upon the herd to follow blindly its leadership.

Herein appears one of the perils of this rapidly growing movement. The different agencies it seeks to bind together in a unifying way have to a large degree been the product of a benevolent paternalism. In fact very little social work has had its origin in the efforts of the mass of the people to improve their own condition. The usual procedure is for a few influential leaders to promote the organization, determine its purposes and methods, and then endeavor in various ways to swing the public into line. With this tradition as a guide it would not be strange if community organization would tend to become a super-organization seeking to achieve its ends through an exercise of arbitrary power. It is the fear that this may take place that causes some people to look with disfavor upon the recent development of financial federations of social agencies in our larger cities. Representing as they do the combined agencies of the city, they hold a position of influence never dreamed possible by individual organizations in the past. When coupled with the strength that goes along with an united front there is added the power inherent in financial control, it can be seen that the financial federations are a force of far reaching importance. The present trend toward financial federations is a logical and perhaps inevitable movement since it is merely carrying over



into the social work field the prevailing methods and ideals of business administration. It is by no means to be criticized because of its strength. On the contrary it should be a source of satisfaction that social welfare programs are at last being placed in a position where they must be given the attention they merit.

Nevertheless it should be pointed out that a powerful organization of this kind which has grown up in the midst of the paternalistic atmosphere of the social work field, must guard itself carefully if it is not to be drawn into the vortex of the widely prevalent crowd movement. Its leaders cannot fail to be tempted to utilize their advantageous position as a means for the coercion of the people into doing what it is felt they ought to do. The resources of organized publicity and the various kinds of propaganda are available for the accomplishment of their purpose. It would be surprising indeed if the crowd spirit found no place in the promotion of their programs.

A similar danger is apparent in some of the efforts made to promote community organization in the smaller cities and communities. Whether it is the organization of the leisure time activities of the people, the promotion of a community center, or the development of a village improvement association, the community leaders are likely to rely upon the inspirational speech and similar means in order to bring about the desired result. In their zeal to reach their goal they may pass lightly over the need of a period of discussion and deliberation and endeavor to carry their point by emotional appeals. They fall the more readily into this procedure because it is the method to which the mass of the people is accustomed. Sensational advertising, political propaganda, and ready made programs that require nothing but the stamp of popular approval, are commonly accepted devices for getting things done. In organizing a community for any purpose the line of least resistance is to regard the people as a crowd to be manipulated in accord with the desires of its self appointed leaders.

But in spite of this insidious influence of the crowd spirit, community organization is essentially a group rather than a crowd movement. This is seen very clearly in the Cincinnati Social Unit Organization which stands out as a notable

attempt to get all the people of a community to participate directly and intelligently in the control of their affairs. In their block councils, citizens' council, and occupational council, emphasis is placed on group action growing out of a thoughtful discussion of the problem at hand. Under such a scheme of organization the mass meeting has a place but it carries with it the atmosphere of the open forum. The whole plan is designed to discourage efforts to put over things which the people do not understand. The policies of the organization grow out of the vaguely expressed wishes of the people and when formulated by those chosen for that purpose are reinterpreted to the rank and file by the block workers in their neighborly contacts and daily intercourse. It needs no elaboration to indicate the wide gulf between such a procedure and the very prevalent practice of those who gain their ends by relying upon suggestion and imitation.

Community councils also, however widely they may vary in details of organization, are characterized by their emphasis on bringing together different groups in the community for the discussion and adoption of plans and policies. Their work through committees, their insistence on securing facts through studies of actual conditions, and their efforts to get all to participate in the formulation of a flexible program covering a period of years, are evidence of a method of procedure that has little in common with a purely emotional appeal.

It is this emphasis upon working through groups rather than through crowds that is one of the chief contributions of the community organization movement to present day society. The recent widespread interest in the promotion of community programs has brought the social worker into intimate touch with skilled propagandists interested in various kinds of reforms. If their devices are adopted, there is a very real danger that social work of a preventive nature may become very little more than a crowd movement characterized by attempts to cajole or force people to fall into line. This does not mean of course that there is no place in social work for dealing with people in mass. Recognition must be given to the value of the mass meeting as a means of arousing popular interest and enthusi-



asm. The emotion that sweeps over a crowded and tense gathering may bring about renewed courage and create the will to achieve. But the nature of its limitations should be kept in mind. The community enterprise that seeks to gain its purpose by catering to the whims of the crowd is likely to be as superficial and ephemeral as the

crowd spirit it invokes. There is a very real peril that the crowd spirit may become the chief note in the promotion of social work. Community organization is rendering a much needed service by insisting that crowd enthusiasm cannot take the place of group discussion in building up a community program.

## THE CONTROL OF SOCIAL FORCES

HOMER HOYT

THERE is growing consciousness on the part of mankind that human ingenuity and human inventions have generated a Frankenstein-like monster with a machine personality all of its own. Arthur Pound calls this thing "The Iron Man." John Maurice Clark speaks of it as the "race of machines." Leon Carrol Marshall labels this complex "Industrial Society." Neither man nor beast, "neither fowl, nor fish, nor good red herring," neither entirely organic, nor entirely mechanical, neither possessing consciousness in a human sense, nor yet lacking the definite purpose that consciousness implies, this immense conception stalks in our vicinity and broods over us. "It is here, it is there, it is everywhere." Every man, every shop, every machine is a part of it, but the bonds that link it together in the super-organism that it is are partly invisible and too far-reaching in their physical connections to be viewed by the naked eye.

When the separate parts of industrial society were being constructed in different parts of the world, we did not see that they were all growing together to form one super-machine. When the parts were soft and plastic, the human race was not hedged in by the hard walls of the completed structure and it could take to itself the credit for having nurtured and produced the thing that was apparently taking shape under human hands. Now we see that machines had a life principle all their own, and that while man was patting himself on the back and crowing over the wonder of his creation, the machines were quietly consolidating their power. Now there can be no doubt of the power of this machine monster and of man's subserviency. Man is no longer cap-

tain of his economic fate. The whim of a business cycle, the Niagara-like push of world forces over which any one human being has but scant control, fixes the destiny of every business. To ride to fortune with these forces is the hope of every puny pecuniary man, but to stop the inrush of these tides, the average business man has as much chance as Canute.

But a fierce and proud egotism beats in every human breast. We will tame this monster and make it eat out of our hands and lie down when we command. Myriad are the methods suggested for breaking it to our will.

The first group of methods of social control relate to small or narrow groups. Every business man attempts to increase his prices as much as possible either by his own efforts or in conjunction with others. The Sherman anti-trust law is a method of control which attempts to preserve the liberty of the masses by shattering monopoly power wherever it raises its head. Trade unions and farmer's cooperative associations represent similar attempts to raise the price of the services or products of a group, and to the extent that they are successful, they nullify the results of the price-raising work of the business firms. Immigration restrictions are methods of controlling the supply of labor for the benefit of trade unions, protective tariffs reduce the supply of competing goods to the obvious advantage of the protected manufacturer. Rent laws hold down an increase in apartment rents; government price control for a time clamps the lid down on normal market tendencies; inter-state commerce commissions limit the rates of common carriers; excess profits taxation control the earnings of successful business firms; an Untermeyer breaks down the

control of a local building monopoly; the farmers' bloc attempts to raise farm prices and lower those of manufacturers; the railway brotherhoods seek higher wages at the expense of railway investors. So after the price upheaval beginning with the war, there were set in motion a vast number of attempts at control, most of which offset or cancel each other or attempt to restore the status quo which the war destroyed.

These methods of social control operate largely on the surface. Other proposals go deeper. The control of population by birth control and the practice of eugenics would artificially alter the quantity and quality of future generations. The practice of standardization would increase the size of our industrial units and cement them more closely together. The nationalization of coal mines, forests and natural resources would slacken the rate of appropriation of our vital assets. The socialization of private property and the government ownership of public utilities, while possibly paralyzing the tremendous push of individual initiative would distribute the fruits of productive effort more evenly. The control of the business cycle would remove the riotous excesses of boom and depression and make our economic life more stable, even if less exciting.

The final methods of social control begin to admit the futility of all methods of social control for they propose no fundamental changes in the structure of existing industrial society, but would merely alter the methods of apportioning the rewards for economic activity. If every man is at the mercy of a gigantic world mechanism, too vast to be influenced by anything he may do, why allow him either to appropriate a large private fortune for sitting above the revolving axle of industrial society or to be dashed to financial ruin by the downward swerve of a business cycle? As the theory of individual causation breaks down with the understanding of the myriad forces involved in any business enterprise, we turn to broader and broader forms of social control. We come at last to the question whether these social forces, in all their complex inter-relationships, can ever be controlled.

In short, will these attempts of man to control the sweep of cosmic evolution succeed or will these million-year-old forces sweep over his dykes and dams and build a new system out of

the fragments of the old? In 1776 Adam Smith, the so-called paternal ancestor of political economy, wrote a declaration of independence against the manifold and petty restrictions which burdened trade. His doctrine of laissezfaire, at first plastic, finally hardened into a set system. The exuberant economic power, which burst forth contemporaneously with the removal of the restraints upon man's activity that mercantilism, technically imposed, has begun to wane. We are now applying the whip of control in order to keep our jaded industrial system in the lead. But this control is a sign of decadence. It came only when the thing to be controlled had taken tangible shape and form and had lost its wild creative impulse. For the first stages of a young and creative movement can never be controlled, for no one knows in what form or shape it will break out next. After these attempts at control will come the birth of a new creative society. The new order will come in its own way, however. Socialism, which is often merely inverted capitalism, and is fashioned in the image of the present is itself but a form of control. But if man cannot hasten or prevent these gigantic social changes, does it necessarily follow that he must stand as a mere passive spectator of the drama of social evolution?

Even such a passive role would afford little ground for pessimism. For the knowledge that enables us to understand and appreciate within a short lifetime such a magnificent play as that which the entire company of nature, with a stage that is 300,000 light years across the footlights, and with æons of time for each act, is producing should afford us profound satisfaction. But it is possible that we may do more. With increasing knowledge of every phase of social life, measured in both qualitative and quantitative statistical terms, we may learn to weld together the methods of controlling the vast number of permutations and combinations of social forces, into one organic and creative method of control. Then control itself would have the vitality of a creative impulse and by its very inhibition of present destructive social forces, prepare the soil for the rapid multiplication of further new and unsuspected creative impulses without end.



## SERVITUDE AND PROGRESS

MALCOLM M. WILLEY AND MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

THE laments of labor leaders over the well-known reticence of American workers to ally themselves with causes which are advanced as being to their economic advantage, have arisen from a phenomenon which has puzzled many students of economics and social psychology. Those students who hold doctrine of economic determinism have been particularly at a loss to account for the remarkable lack of enthusiasm which the ordinary American worker shows, especially to those "left-wing" doctrines which detail the economic handicaps under which a worker labors and which proffer a solution which should be attractive to him. These programs, playing as they do on the economic prejudices of the worker, though the paths to the solutions they offer are visualised by the trained mind as wending their way through thickets bristling with difficulties too often unseen by over-enthusiastic radical labor leaders, sincerely busy erecting sign-posts inscribed "This Way to Utopia," strangely enough are refused by a large proportion of the workers as reprehensible, a menace to civilization, or even "Bolshevism."

The ordinary tailor, janitor, waiter, day-laborer, or skilled worker in the factory or shop, is in a disadvantageous position, economically speaking. This group constitutes a proportion, by no means negligible, of our American working class, and is the group which most perplexes the labor leader or social reformer who is confronted with the problem with which this paper concerns itself. And it is therefore with this group that the writers are mainly dealing. This group, as to their refusal to accept these doctrines, must be differentiated from the group, also large, of organized, perhaps even "class-conscious" workers in large industries or factories. As far as the latter are concerned, the doctrines mentioned above are much more readily acceptable, and find a soil for most fertile growth. The disadvantageousness of the economic position of this unorganizable group is a phenomenon of our civilization which may be easily confirmed by the consultation of any standard recent work on economics, to say nothing of the statistical reports that have been compiled by the United States De-

partment of Labor, in its investigations of the earning capacity and living conditions of men and women in various occupations in this country, as well as by the minimum wage boards of a number of states. And yet probably the most eloquent statement of what is termed the "conservative" position in economic affairs can be gathered by anyone from a short conversation with his butcher, his baker, or his candle-stick maker.

"I'd like to run my needle through every one of them radicals," remarked our tailor's helper, commenting upon the strikers in the recent tie-up of the railroads, and like opinions from similar sources would perhaps be conceded as being not out of the ordinary. Some of the best arguments we have heard for the maintenance of the present system of profit and wages were vehemently and succinctly given by the janitor of our apartment.

The problem with which we are presented may then be concisely stated as follows: Why is there to be found this stubborn adherence to this conservative economic philosophy on the part of men who would seem to be the most unlikely ones to hold it in any regard? Why is it the despair of social reformers, labor leaders, and radicals, that a large proportion of the working men are so unresponsive to measures which should, to all intents and purposes, be highly attractive to them?

Is it because of mere habituation to the older doctrines that there is this cold indifference to the new ones? Is it because of the constant propaganda carried on by far-seeing and economically class-conscious owners of vested interests, as has been so often claimed? Is it because the members of the so-called lower classes are intellectually incapable of grasping the importance and significance of the far-reaching programs placed before them for their edification and uplift? Or is it, perhaps, that their senses are so blunted by the monotony of their daily toil that they no longer are capable of appreciating a life more beautiful and complete than the narrow one to which they are now restricted?

All of these solutions, have been put forward by persons interested in various aspects of the



problem here approached. And while there is a certain element of truth in each, a further consideration would seem to demonstrate the fact that none of these is basic in solving it, nor do all of them taken together round out an explanation that is altogether satisfactory to the student who is in search of the key to the problem. If habituation be the explanation, it may be objected that these workers are not slow to accept other changes in their lives which are quite as important to them, such as the frequent changes that occur in place or type of employment, as demonstrated by large labor turnover complained of by so many employers. It would seem in the nature of the case that if habit ruled the lives of these persons, their members would be loath to make such changes. And while it cannot be denied that propaganda against economic restlessness plays a large part in maintaining labor quiescence, it must be noted first, that there is a constant counter-agitation being presented to workers of all classes, and, second, that what importance it does have is secondary and complementary to the explanation which is to be elaborated in this paper.

That the members of the groups under consideration are not intellectually incapable of appreciating the essentials of the reform programs offered, is amply shown by the fact that they are so well able to appreciate and present the logic of the position which is, according to those who are seeking to interest them in economic change, economically disadvantageous to them. And, finally, it may be observed that it is precisely those elements of the working groups whose senses would be most expected to be blunted by the monotony of their work which seize upon the programs of social amelioration with the greatest avidity.

In view of this, it must be expected that there is a still more fundamental explanation to be had. If we turn to another field, we may discover a reason for certain characteristic reactions in the behavior of human beings which may be of no small assistance in placing us upon the road leading towards a more satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon with which we are here dealing. During the theatrical season of the winter of 1921, there was presented in New York city a play, in the course of which, a situation was

constructed of such intensity that at each performance, with almost invariable regularity, from one to five members of the audience collapsed. At this point, a matador, having broken his leg a few weeks previously, in the course of a bullfight, and chafing under the restraint imposed by his splints, removes them against the doctor's advice. It is at the moment, when faint with pain attendant upon the first pressure of his weight on the broken limb, he falls back fainting from the bed, that this collapse of members of the audience invariably takes place.

In the field of literature we find a striking example of the same principle. The mechanism is to be noted with exceptional clearness in the tremendous vogue of the wild west story, and the numerous variations on the Cinderella theme, which, year after year, sweeps the country and places books of these types high on the list of best sellers.

Again, in regarding the moving picture, we find that the producers consciously strive to have their settings rich, to dress their heroines elaborately, and to have their heroes handsome. That this procedure is congenial to the generality of human kind is conclusively demonstrated by the phenomenal rise of the "movie," and the place it holds in the affections of the most diverse types of people the world over.

When we ask ourselves for the explanation of the apparently irresistible appeal of the phenomena noted, we find it in the principle of identification. Identification, as defined by Hart,<sup>1</sup> "consists in identifying ourselves with another individual, either real or fictitious, so that we experience his joys, sorrows, and desires as if they were our own. So long as the identification holds we feel that he is a part of our personality and that we are living part of our lives in him."<sup>2</sup> The reason for the attractiveness of the motion picture hero or heroine, of the swaggering bully of the wild west, of the drooping mistreated Cinderella, or similarly the pain of the idol of the bull ring, lies in the fact that for the moment the shop girl is the beautiful rich heroine, worshipped by the highly desirable hero, the meek clerk is the swaggering broncho buster, the weeping matron is the unfortunate Cinder-

<sup>1</sup> Hart, "Psychology of Insanity," p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> cf. also section on identification in Wilfrid Lay's "The Child's Unconscious Mind."

ella, and the sensitive spectator is the bull-fighter undergoing the excruciating pain of the first test of a broken leg long unused.

It is a fact which has been noted by psychologists for many years that the ego, the concept of self, of any given individual is not restricted primarily to his own body. Indeed, even as far as the body itself is concerned, certain parts of the anatomy are felt by the individual to be more nearly a part of himself (his ego) than are other parts. One's face, e. g., is felt to be much more closely related to selfhood than is the small of one's back, or one's toes. It would seem that the concept of this "me-ness" of things is one which is constantly developing from the days of early infancy.<sup>3</sup> To the baby the consciousness of self, it is generally agreed by students of child psychology, is extremely limited. While, perhaps, he realizes soon after birth that most of his body is his own and to be distinguished from the bodies of those about him, he has none of that sense of the unity with himself with regard to the things which he intimately uses, the room in which he lives, his clothing or family, as has the adult. In other words, this process of identification is one which is developed in the life of a human being through constant association with things or persons in the course of his life. Further, as one extends through this process of identification the ego-consciousness not only to his family, but to all those persons whom he admires and who stand for what is good and right in his eyes.

To quote Frink, with developing years and experience and contacts, the individual "broadens the self to include what really belongs to other persons or objects."<sup>4</sup> The identifier feels as though something happening to another person were actually being experienced by himself.

Let us now return to the problem in hand. This, it will be remembered, is an attempt to seek an explanation for the reluctance of an appreciable number of workers and servants to respond to doctrines of social amelioration presumably to their economic advantage, as well as their stout adherence to a system which works to their economic disadvantage, this adherence

even going so far as to assume the form of pride in the achievement of those who are being benefitted at their very expense. If we now apply this mechanism of identification to our problem we must see that here we have a provocative lead to a better understanding of it. The almost obvious applicability of the mechanism to the problem can be illustrated with innumerable cases of occurrences in the daily life of most persons.

The examples which will be called to mind most readily concern themselves with the workings of this psychological mechanism in the relations of those persons who come in a class known as body or personal servants. As here used, this term is not intended to be restricted to private servants, such as valets, maid servants, private chauffeurs, and the like. It is here expanded to embrace all those workers whose services are of a personal nature, even though those be rendered to the public at large. Thus, the term would include waiters, barbers, tailors, seamstresses, gardeners, manicurists, grooms, servants in clubhouses and hotels, employees in exclusive shops, and the like. The element in common which all of these persons employed so variously have between them is their constant and intimate contact with those who possess and exhibit those articles of use and those qualities which are held to be most desirable.

It would be expected, were the theories of the economic determinists tenable, that such persons as these, deprived as they necessarily must be, of the things which are conceived of as most worthy of possession, and in constant contact with ease of life, power, prestige, and above all richness in standards of consumption and dress, and the gratification of all possible wants, that such persons as these would be envious of, and bitter against their economic superiors.

The notorious contempt of the head-waiter for those, who when coming under his ægis, do not seem "to the manner born," i. e., to be in possession of wealth and breeding, as he conceives the latter, needs only to be mentioned to be conceded. The fear and trepidation with which a person of the upper middle class will approach the ordeal of purchasing a major article of wearing apparel in one of the so-called exclusive shops, has been sufficiently commented upon by the comic weeklies. The haughty disdain with which the chauffeur of the wealthy family re-

<sup>3</sup> James, W. "Principles of Psychology," vol. I, ch. x, "Consciousness of Self." Also see J. Mark Baldwin, "Mental Development."

<sup>4</sup> Frink, "Morbid Fears and Compulsions," ch. iv, sections on Introjection, particularly pp. 167-8.

gards his master's poor relations has often been noticed. Indeed, it is stated by those who have had occasion to have relations with the great and mighty that it is more of an ordeal to come in contact with their servants and retainers than with the great themselves.

Considered from a rational point of view is not this behavior on the part of these underlings strange? What conceivable reason is there for the shop girl, too often ill-paid and living under what the economist might term "marginal" conditions, to look down upon customers whom she serves who are much wealthier than she can ever hope to be, and this in a society where wealth is, in large measure, an index of prestige? Of course, it must be pointed out that the same shop girl does not disdain those of her customers who are on the pinnacle of wealth and power, but only those who are somewhat below this point, particularly those known as the *nouveau riche*, who are unable to convey to her a feeling of deference due. Is it not strange that the haughty head-waiter and his acolytes respect only those who treat them with the greatest disdain?

The explanation of these curious happenings of everyday life is to be had in the realization that the shop-girl, in treating her *nouveau riche* customer with scorn does so because she herself is one of those born to the purple; she identifies herself through the expansion of her ego, with those of her customers who seem to her to personify those qualities of dignity and greatness of the type accepted by society in general as the most desirable. She does not envy her scornful customer, though she may wish at times that she, too, possessed some of the rich articles of wearing apparel that she handles, but "in their joy she gets joy" and her pleasures are none the less intense for being vicarious.

The shivering chauffeur waiting for his master and mistress at the opera boasts proudly to his fellow chauffeurs of the powerfulness of "our" car, the luxuriousness of its appointments, and the splendor of the passengers it carries. He recounts at length the sumptuousness of "our" dinner dance, seemingly holding no rancor, but the greatest regard, for the master and mistress warmly ensconced in the nearby opera-house. While at home, the sleepy maid and valet await the coming of their employers with a similar lack

of rancor. It has been related to us that the cook in a well-to-do southern family became so incensed whenever the mistress of the household wished to perform trifling duties in the kitchen that she would completely upset the even tenor of the ways of the house. It was not the place of the mistress to do such things as this. Ladies of her class should not act that way. One would expect a hard-working cook to welcome assistance, but instead she feels that this is a violation of the mores which govern his mistress's group with which she has so closely identified herself, and accordingly the reasons for her action become clear.

If we apply the same mechanics to the other examples cited above, as well as to numerous others that will immediately come to mind, it will be seen that this process of identification is one which must be considered as basic to any attempt to understand the reactions of persons falling within the group of body servants. They have, certainly in the majority of instances, no ill-feeling against the persons they serve, except that feeling of contempt which arises when the persons they are serving are not conceived by them as coming within the group which it is right and proper should be served. With that latter group they identify themselves. The servants enjoy their masters' pleasures, feel a personal interest in their masters' affairs, and hold their masters' opinions. And it is believed that here will be found the reason for the extreme conservatism which is the characteristic so often encountered among this class of persons.

If we turn to another more or less well defined group among workers we discover here a group which, while being in close and constant contact with the great and near great and their sources of power, yet nevertheless does not render them body service. Among members of this class one often encounters a frank envy for the material pleasure of life which their superiors enjoy, in other words, there is not here so strong a personal identification. The identification is rather along business, or economic, lines. In this group will be found those persons who are often roughly classified as "white collar" workers. These comprise office workers, such as clerks, bookkeepers and stenographers, engineers in subsidiary positions, minor executives, private secretaries, and lesser employees in banks and



other financial institutions, in the case of all of whom is this close and intimate contact with those who hold to a greater or less extent power arising from the economic organization of our present day society to be observed.

If we rationalize in this case it would seem logically convincing that these individuals, usually employed at small salaries, would not remain quiescent in view of the economic disadvantages under which they labor. Their wages, as is well known, are anything but plastic. In the period of inflation associated with the recent war, while prices of commodities soared rapidly skyward, the salaries of this class of workers lagged far behind. True, there was some outcry, but there was none of the concerted determination to remedy the matter which was shown by workers in the large and well organized industries. Attempts which have been made to organize workers of the group now being considered have been met with repeated coldness. It is in this group that the canons of ethics prevalent in a society based on a system of wages and profit, those of penury, thrift, honesty and reliance on the goodwill of the employer, are most evident. It is here that one finds the most violent opposition to anything which may be stereotypes with the terms "Bolshevism," "radicalism," or "Socialism."

It is among this group that we most clearly see the effect of the propaganda which is being carried on unceasingly in favor of "things as they are." It cannot be gainsaid that the staunch adherents of this group to the philosophy of "law and order," which makes them the outstanding exponents of normalcy, safety and sanity, is the result, to an appreciable extent, of this propaganda. Because it should be remarked that most of these individuals read the various media through which this philosophy is disseminated. And while this influence undoubtedly is a real one, it would be difficult to account for the attitude of the members of the group under their economic disability, unless there were a deeper underlying mechanism that rendered them hospitable to the suggestions carried in this way. For members of other groups who are extremely hostile to the conservative philosophy in economics very often belong to a group commonly termed the "intelligentsia," which reads perhaps even more assiduously the very organs which these workers read. And it is among this group

of "intelligentsia" where there is found the most notable exponents of the opposing or radical doctrines. It would seem almost apparent, then, that propaganda alone cannot account for the failure of this group to respond to the doctrines of the social meliorists.

The bank clerk who swells with pride at the statement of the huge transactions of the institution which employs him, even though he does not share beyond an occasional small bonus in the profits, is motivated by something much deeper than a rational pride in his participation in the affairs of the bank. If pressed in argument he will on occasion admit that he has little economic interest in the degree of success which the institution in which he is employed attains, but he will stoutly maintain that "our" bank is in the foremost rank. The struggling clerk who carefully conserves every penny, to the ultimate benefit of his employer, feels none the less keenly, that he must do this even though he does not participate in those profits, and even though he is conscious that his own salary will not be increased by so doing. Again, though there can be but little doubt, in the case of the engineer, that there is a strong economic or rationalistic urge for his active alliance with the owning groups, the fact remains that large numbers of engineers give this alliance in the face of their numerous protests against the present system in its aspect of economic waste. This was strongly brought out in the report of a commission of engineers appointed by Secretary Hoover to inquire into waste in the present organization of production.

Once more it would seem that the satisfactory explanation involving an underlying psychological mechanism would lie in the concept of identification. This, as in the other cases, involves the concept of the expanded ego, which embraces not only the person, his effects, and his family, but also the wider circle of his associates, including his superiors and their institutions, as well as his equals. When the poor clerk feels this strange responsibility for the best conduct of a business, in the greatest possible success of which he can have only a slight material interest, it is not because he has been taught that this is the right and proper thing to do, but because he feels that this business is a part of himself, and from its greater success he takes a delight which can only arise from his unconscious identification of him-

self with it. As the business succeeds, he is successful. It does not matter that he be beset with economic worries of a personal nature; in the success of the business of which he is a part he becomes, in his own eyes, a successful man.

That the industrial engineers whose task it is to establish and maintain greater harmony between employers and employees realize the value of playing on this feeling of identification through constant contact is demonstrated by the stress which they place on the fact that the success of the employees of a given business is entirely bound up with and responsible for the success of that business. Further illustrations of the working of this mechanism will readily occur to the reader upon a moment's reflection.

A third group of workers, which must be dealt with in a study of the problem here under consideration, comprises employees in stores and factories, still small enough so that the employees are able to feel a personal relationship with the entrepreneur. New England, for example, is today sprinkled with small mills (employing up to 200 hands), the ownership of each of which has been vested since inception in one family, perhaps for two or three generations. The workers, both skilled and unskilled, many of whose parents and grandparents have worked for the same family, live in a mill village near the mill and the home of the owner. Nothing could be keener than the interest which these workers take in the welfare and development of the mill. A large order means a general rejoicing, not so much because of the fact that it means a full pay envelope, as it of course does, but because it contributes to the general well-being of the mill itself. The employees are on terms of personal acquaintance with the owner; very often they call him by his first name. And they feel that the entire enterprise is a part of them, as they are a part of it. The feeling of the mill as "our mill" offers a striking illustration of this phenomenon of identification.

A similar feeling, though not so pronounced, would be found, if inquiry were made, it may be asserted, among the employees of almost any medium-sized business where the relation of employer and employee are on a basis of cordial personal intercourse. And even where the financial condition of such a business is flourishing, the employee will give it his tender care in

order to further, not his own economic advantage, but that of the business with which he so closely, unconsciously identifies himself. The eagerness of the newspaper reporter to get a "beat" for his paper, whether large or small, daily or weekly, is not so much motivated by a personal desire to further his own reportorial glory through the writing of the story as it is to add to the prestige of the paper upon which he is employed. For reporters' stories, except in rare cases, are unsigned, and no figures need be adduced as to the munificence of the compensation they receive. Here again it is simply and basically identification.

There is another group of workers, large in size, which comes under none of the heads mentioned heretofore. This group includes those workers, skilled and unskilled, in the large, well-integrated, economic organizations of the country. There might be mentioned the workers in the steel and meat industries, the large oil and coal corporations, on the railroads, in the large textile factories, almost all day laborers for whom ever employed, the casual workers in the harvest fields and timber lands, workers in the needle trades, and the like, all of whom fall within this category. If this list is considered, it will be noticed at a glance that it is from this group that most of the so-called "left-wing" labor organizations spring. The I. W. W. is recruited from the casual workers in the harvest fields and the forests, on the docks, and from the less skilled workers in the steel and other industries, in the main. The workers in the needle trades have formed unions which in the matter of economic heresy are often placed by journals of repute not far below the I. W. W. itself. Perhaps next, descending in the scale of radicalism, may be placed the United Mine Workers of America, while the more conservative organizations, though strong unions, are those of the railroad employees. Within this latter class, it may be observed, the most progressive is that which comprises in its membership those men who are not so well paid (the maintenance of way men, for example) while the unions of those men with whom rests a higher degree of initiative and responsibility are the more conservative.

It may be maintained by some that the facts cited in the preceding paragraph invalidate the thesis that is being developed here. However,

on the contrary, they really fortify it. It must be remembered that to the casual worker or to the worker who is only a cog in an overwhelmingly huge machine, there is little chance for identification to operate. Simply because a man belongs to a union, of course does not imply that he is amenable to the doctrine generally known as "left-wing." The American Federation of Labor, for the most part, is composed of men who are far from radical, but these men certainly, to an appreciable extent, are employed in small firms where the contact with the employer and common knowledge of the financial condition of the employing firm make for a feeling of "one-ness" with that concern. The casual worker, or the man who spends his day making a given cut in each carcass of beef as it trundles by him on an overhead railway in the stockyards, or the man who is employed in cleaning out blast furnaces in a steel mill, has no sense of intimate connection with the powers that rule his destiny. The same is true in the case of the employees of

the absentee-owned textile plants. In other words, where the mechanism of identification cannot operate, we find the most fertile ground for the sowing of the doctrines of the labor leader, the political radical and the social meliorist.

If in the light of the suggestions outlined in this discussion we return to the main problem, it would seem that in this psychological mechanism of unconscious identification lies the key to an understanding of the reluctance of large groups of workers to respond to the doctrines set forth for their economic betterment. Herein, it is believed, lies the answer to the puzzling occurrence of frequent vehement expositions of the conservative philosophy on the part of those least benefited by the system which they uphold. It is not to be understood that this note is intended to be anything more than a suggestion looking toward more concrete research into this most interesting problem of social psychology. But it is maintained that along these lines, or lines very similar, the explanation is to be had.



## Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE UNIVERSITY AND THE FORGOTTEN CURRICULUM

MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS

**C**RITICISM of the American college, and what is loosely termed as "an education" has grown in the last few years to be the great American indoor sport. Such liberal-radical journals as *The Freeman*, the *New Republic*, the *Nation* are caustic, acid, defamatory. Such fiction magazines as *The Smart Set* are flippant. Such oracles as the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *North American Review* are ponderous, perplexed and abstruse. According to Barrett Wendell education is the great American superstition. According to the American business man it is that worst of all things, theoretical. And according to college graduates themselves it is either overrated or sentimentalized. There seems to be a general lack, in all this, of some fundamental, of some common ground, of some standard. Something vital has been omitted.

That which has been omitted is the United States of America. That is the thing which both the educators and the general public, the educated and the critics, seem not to have regarded. Yet no discussion of the college in America can do without it longer.

Here it is, the United States of America, a vast expanse of people in all stages of development, from the most primitive American Indian and undeveloped negro, to the highest types of which our civilization is capable. Here in this stretch of continent are huddled together, dependent on the same toil, urged by the same fundamental necessities of living, the descendants of every race on earth, a welter of such social and racial heredities, manners, customs, morals, inhibitions, taboos and religions as has never been gathered together before in the history of the world. Nor are the regions in which they live in any way similar: they are diversified by every contrast of climate, of geography, of plain

and hill and lake and jungle and mountain and sea; by the contrasts between cities and villages, between factory towns and university towns; by a differing horticulture, by differing industries, by the need of adaptation to a different development, a totally different future. All this heterogeneous mass is kept together, held loosely in cohesion, by a veneer of similar schooling, similar but remote ideals, a more or less efficient and shifting government, a more or less adequate police force, the vague shadow of a public opinion. It is a mass from which class lines, except those of financial standing, have been obliterated and which has, with a single exception no traditional technique in orderly living. That exception is the remnant of the old pioneer aristocracy, augmented by richer newcomers who have been partially assimilated by it. That group alone has a tradition of manners and customs, of protection, education and marriage, of mental attitude and so-called leadership. It recognizes only itself as important. It regards democracy as impossible. Below this group, which has been able to maintain itself, not by force of its traditions so much as by its wealth, lies the mass of humanity. They recognize no technique of the good life. Their nearest approach to dignity of living is an imitation of the habits of "society leaders" and, beyond the hope of being rich and possessing all the impedimenta of the millionaire, they have little or no inducement to orderly development, to creative thinking, to well rounded, interesting, valuable lives.

From this United States—chaotic, uncertain, groping,—the younger generation comes to college or the university with standardized preparations. And from the moment the college doors close upon him or her this vast continent full of people, cities, factories, schools, prairies, vaude-

ville theatres, mountains, wheat fields, strikes, orchards, farm hands, negro burnings, religious revivals, poetry magazines, dock hands, newspaper correspondents, institutes for the feeble-minded, chamber of commerce, billboards, express trains, style shows, Holy Rollers, the sweated industries, public libraries, pig clubs, lumbermen, the Ku Klux Klan, penitentiaries, state senators, stockyards, moving picture actors, *Snappy Stories*, the Audobon society, garbage collectors, segregated districts, ethical societies, little theatres, Wall street,—practically ceases to exist. Except for casual mention in a few courses in American history or economics, this, which has been their background, and will continue to be their background, is practically ignored.

And the idea of the community is ignored. The college does not recognize what is becoming increasingly evident, that in this American scene we function only in our communities. Not so much the home and the family, whose unity has been broken by economic pressure, but the community itself stamps the individual who comes to college. He or she goes back to that, or another community, perhaps unlike in its characteristics, with no idea at all that the pressure of the community upon him will twist and distort his or her vague ideas of culture and leadership to its own will. He is given little idea in college of what the community, the American community, really is, or to what it can be led; he is told that he has been "trained for leadership" with no idea of the object of leadership, or any technique of leadership if there is an object. He is sent, like a Carlisle Indian, back to his tribe, to elevate it to a proper appreciation of pre-Elizabethan drama, the non-inheritance of acquired characteristics, the codex Sinaiticus, prepositional phrases of asseveration and adjuration in Old and Middle French, or whatever else may have been his chief study. He has no clear idea of how he is to elevate the world, or to what ends. He, or she, is merely very sure that he has been educated.

As a result, if the poor student is not immediately stunned, shocked, engulfed and battered by the wilderness of this world then he is either a very unusual, or a very much sheltered

individual. The world is not at all interested in pre-Elizabethan drama and as little in education, as a whole. He is caught up in the tumult of making a living, of marrying, of having children, of voting, of becoming a responsible citizen and sitting on committees. And either the student, as a result of all this, forgets what little he did get in college, or he falls back into discouragement and disillusion, convinced that there is no way out of chaos but individual development and still ignorant that the force of community pressure will in time shape him in its own image.

If the American college or university is to continue as anything but a popular and expensive luxury, it can no longer ignore these facts. I am daring to say that it must face them and determine for the first time in its history, perhaps, what should be the right relation to the individual, to the community, and to the whole people.

I do not believe any college or university in the country has faced the whole problem. Individual institutions have faced phases of it, or have endeavored to do their duty merely by maintaining staffs as individually brilliant or independent as possible, so that at least their students might be spurred to some sort of independence of thought. Yet is mere independence of thought enough? Has not the university, in these chaotic times, some responsibility toward the creation of a technique of good living, toward the development of free personalities in a living community, which shall stimulate both the personality and the community, and through them influence this United States in which they are placed? Many college people are beginning to believe so.

But, the question is, how is it to be accomplished? How is the modern university to set about this tremendously constructive and revolutionary task?

It seems evident that there is only one course. The leaders of universities of the future must go back, in the first place, to Frederick Le Play. They must recognize the truth of the principles of the great French sociologist who demonstrated first that art, education, polity and culture have been divorced from the fundamentals without which society and its institutions are practically dead. These fundamentals are the eternal

three, place, folk, work. Without a close relation to these, education is only information, culture is mannerism, art is sterile and life is vicious.

It is the university, and particularly the state university, which must return also to the service of place, folk, work, its place, its folk, their work. It must base its curriculum on the whole life of its own people, in their own region. It must be a truly regional university, historian, interpreter of the present, prophet of the future. It must be a product of its own place, and an interpreter of it. It must relate itself to its own people, not just as a younger generation, but as a continuing stream through its doors, whose whole life it should color because its matter and its method have been drawn from the life and tradition of its own region. It must deal with the life of its locality at first hand, have an intimate relation to the civic life, as well as the work of its people. It must become the stimulator, the laboratory, the clearing house for social forces.

And after it has gone to Frederick Le Play for the roots of our living, place, folk and work, let the university of the future study the work of Patrick Geddes, the pupil of Le Play, who has focussed the needs of place, work and folk into two great activities, of city planning and child welfare. And, after Patrick Geddes has shown

the way, let the university learn from the greatest American philosopher, Josiah Royce of Harvard, that its final concern must be, as an American institution, the truly American idea of the community as the ultimate unit of social progress, and the truly American ideal of the beloved community. From such pupils of Geddes and Royce as Mrs. Robert Morris Seymour, who has carried on the principles of Le Play and Geddes to the furtherance of community organization, the university of the future can learn much.

For, finally, the building and strengthening of the community, the ultimate community, without which all our lives are broken, disassociated, unhappy, mutilated, is the great work of the American university. When that is understood more clearly by the professors of our institutions of learning we shall be on the way toward a better relation between college life and real life. We shall have based our whole growth, as a people, no longer on guesswork, traditions or muddle, but upon a scientific understanding of human relationships, of social forces, of the factors in social renewal.

We shall have taken the first step toward that only admissible democracy, "the unrestricted interplay of free spirits against a common background."

## THE PLACE OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

WALLACE E. CALDWELL

THE ever-increasing complexity of modern life and the ever-broadening scope of modern knowledge have brought to the doors of our schools and colleges a vast number of new subjects of education or perhaps of old subjects under new guise clamoring insistently for admission. Some of them involving the study of modern social, economic and political problems are well able to justify their demand for a place in an over-crowded curriculum. Under such conditions every field of education must face the stern test of value and utility or pass to leave place for another more insistent. Can ancient history meet that test successfully? To meet the test, of what groups of facts shall the teaching of ancient history consist and how shall it be taught? It is to the first of these

questions that the present article is directed. For the second future treatment is reserved.

Why should the modern American student spend time in the acquisition of facts about the civilizations of Egypt and Babylon, of Greece and Rome, themselves long since passed away, facts which he will likely forget as soon as he has passed the examination? Thucydides regarded his history as a text-book for future statesmen and generals. The Elder Pitt gave to his son as the best training in statesmanship, Polybius' masterly review of the formation of the Roman Empire. For the statesman, the lawyer, the military man, a review of the statecraft of the ancient world, the legal concepts and practices of Greece and Rome, the campaigns of Alexander, of Hannibal and Cæsar, have a manifest value. But this



argument will not suffice. To the average student it will not be given to direct policies of state or to achieve high command in armies. Reserve these things then, perhaps, for the training of specialists.

We understand the present by a study of the past from which the present has arisen. The origins of large elements of our modern life lie certainly back in the early centuries. Let us therefore study these origins. Certainly if we are to study ancient history we should study them. But is this a sufficient justification for the study of ancient history? It is very pleasant perhaps to know that the Egyptians developed architecture to a high degree, that they started the study of geometry and knew the use of the inclined plane, that the Babylonians studied the stars and foretold the future and so on through Persia, Greece and Rome. This knowledge stimulates and satisfies our intellectual curiosity and gives us a sense of superiority over the ignorant at the dinner table. But does it help us to solve our problems? Will a study of Euclid in the original help the engineer to build his bridge? Or will a knowledge of the maxims of Hippocrates help the physician to heal the sick? Or will an understanding of any of the far-off origins of modern misconceptions help us all to correct them? Would it not be better for the student to devote his time to an understanding of the situation as it exists in this vast field of contemporary civilization? While there may be some claim to value in this side of ancient history it will hardly justify the time and the effort necessary.

In this world torn by blind prejudices and unreasoning strife between nation and nation, between capital and labor, often between individual and individual, one of the greatest needs is sympathy, that broadening of the human understanding which allows men to comprehend and appreciate the point of view of the other side, to see its good qualities as well as those which are evil, to meet it with a ready willingness to bridge the chasm. In the development of such sympathy history abounds in opportunities and of these ancient history partakes. When one has studied life in ancient Egypt and realizes that the impulses which led men of those days to build the mighty pyramids or to carve out deep caverns in

the rocks or to dig out shallow holes in the sand and place therein a few simple offerings, is the same which today leads men to erect lofty mausolea or beautiful monuments or simple headstones, one has begun this growth. The parallel even goes further. In the late war many comrades "went west." Yet was Osiris, the first of the westerners and in the western lands the happy dead were reunited before the pyramids were planned. With such possibilities for the understanding of the fundamentals of human nature, an understanding which lies at the basis of the structure we are trying to erect, ancient history is full. Yet here perhaps modern history has a distinct advantage. We may better understand and sympathize with the people of twentieth century Europe if we study the more recent course of events and endeavor to comprehend the present situation, the present desires and strivings of those troubled humans. We will gain thereby a surer knowledge of the facts with which we have to deal, and as rich, though perhaps not richer, treasure in our ability to feel with our fellow-men.

To this sympathy what has ancient history to add? It has an inexhaustible wealth of cultural values. The student may enrich his intellectual store and broaden his horizon with the knowledge of the mighty monuments, the amazing paintings and carvings, the delicate articles of refinement of Egypt, with the laws and letters of Babylon and Assyria, with the imperial organization of Persia, with the never fading glories of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, the statues of Phidias and Praxiteles and many another, with the majesty of the Forum and the Colosseum and all the grandeur that was Rome. He may feel his blood stir as he rereads the story of Marathon, of Thermopylae, of Salamis and of the retreat from Syracuse, of the daring of Alexander, the strategies of Hannibal and the campaigns of Cæsar. He finds at his hands the great books of the ages, the Hebrew Prophets with all the majesty of their conceptions, the master Homer, the Greek dramatists, Herodotus, the inimitable story teller, Thucydides, the founder of historical science, Vergil, with his epic picture of a mighty race, the genial Horace, the passionate Catullus, the lofty-minded Lucretius, the beloved Plutarch. He may listen to the sophists, wander in the

streets of Athens with Socrates, dispute with Plato, walk to and fro with Aristotle, or discuss social discipline with Seneca. He learns to know and to read and to love those truest of all friends, good books, books from which writers and thinkers of all ages have drawn comfort and inspiration. Nor indeed can he read with pleasure and profit in modern literature without some knowledge of the sources from which so much was drawn and to which so many illusions are made.

But here we meet a new objection. The average student has no time for culture. He must learn how to make a living in this world where economic pressure is so fierce. Leave culture to the few who can afford it. For this argument the writer has only a categorical denial. It is the negation of democracy, the first step in the direction of a caste division between the cultured few and the uncultured many. If we are to make the pursuit of money the center of our educational system, rather than the development of well-rounded men and women citizens, then can we blame our product if it pursues money to the detriment of the state and society? Must we not in the midst of our vocational training find time to give to our boys and girls some appreciation of the finer things of life, the power to enjoy great works of art, to read good books, to understand the value of great traditions and to sympathize with others in this battle of life. To deny their ability to absorb these things is again to deny the fundamental principles on which our democracy rests, and is, the writer firmly believes from his experience as a teacher in New York city, to go directly counter to the truth. Ancient history may not be the best method of approach, but let us find the best and apply it. But to turn back from vocational training, a specialized field, to the average student our subject presents remarkable opportunities along these lines if properly taught.

Ancient history, however, has, for the student of modern conditions, social, economic, political or religious, one very great advantage. It can be made to form a great laboratory for the social sciences. In the study of modern conditions or even of modern history, traditional, national, social or religious prejudices can often blind the

eyes of the keenest observer, prejudice which can easily be laid aside in searches in a remote antiquity. The sources while not so complete as we might desire are frequently adequate and are rapidly becoming available for those unacquainted with the original languages. In early Egypt the student can examine the play of many forces, centralization against decentralization, religion against secularism, new thought and institutions against blind conservatism. He can study the organization of coöperative efforts in the control of the water-supply, in the development of agriculture, in the erection of monuments. The development of an official class, the growth of trade and industry, the expansion of commerce and of empire into other lands with their reactions on the people themselves will claim his attention. Mesopotamia presents a new series of problems in the organization of city-states and their assimilation into empires, the development of control in commerce and industry, the formation of a body of commercial law, and the conquest and administration of empire by Assyria and Persia. On the great trade routes the business practices of the Phoenicians and the Aramæans, the great religious system of the Hebrews, the blending of civilizations under the influences of traffic and of empire are fertile fields. The feudal character of the heroic age in Greece, the expansion of Hellas, the political transformation of the city-states, the working of Athenian democracy, social and economic conditions in fourth century Athens, can be studied in the light of theory and practice. The Hellenistic age, so similar in many respects to our own, offers virgin soil to the investigator, with an increasing abundance of material; the growth of federalism in Greece, the administration of the great empires, the place and power of the Greek city-state in Asia, the marvelous organization of agriculture, of industry and of commerce in Egypt; Alexandria with its mixture of peoples, its thriving industries and its traffic with all the world from China to Britain and its medley of philosophies and religion. In Rome the student can turn his attention to the test of historical values, to the growth of government and law. He can study the agrarian problem, the decline of the small farmer and the formation of large estates. The causes may be estimated and the

remedies suggested and attempted, evaluated, to the advantage of our own agricultural classes. There is no field so full of material and of suggestion to the student of religious problems as is to be found in the period from the Punic Wars to the triumph of Christianity. The control over industry and the management and work of the guilds under the Roman Empire contain many lessons for the modern industrial reformer. The list of such opportunities can be multiplied many times. Every branch of the social sciences may here find material worthy of its attention and productive of value for itself. The parallels between ancient and modern conditions are never exact. History never repeats itself. Inventions have created a new material world. Yet human nature remains much the same and the forces of society evolve but slowly. In our laboratory we may learn to measure them and may gain assist-

ance in the application of our measurements to their present operation. We may perhaps learn that reform measures, now considered new and radical, were tested and discarded many centuries ago and we may find new suggestions from the efforts, the successes and failures, of the ancient peoples, which will open the way to relief for which the world is seeking. At the same time for ourselves we will be gaining a great background of information, of sympathy, of culture, which will be of inestimable value to us in our individual lives as well as in our attempts to solve the pressing problems of our troubled era.

This is the vista which may be presented before the eyes of the youth in our schools and colleges. This is the case for ancient history. Is it well-founded? Is it sufficient to meet the test with a success which alone can justify its continuous existence in our curricula?

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#### THE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

At the call of Professors Snedden, Smith, Clow, Finney, and Peters, some thirty persons interested in Educational Sociology met at Cleveland, February 27th, and organized a National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. W. R. Smith of the University of Kansas was elected president and C. C. Peters of Ohio Wesleyan University, secretary-treasurer. David Snedden, Ross Finney, and E. George Payne were appointed as executive committee. It is the intention to hold a session each year in connection with the meeting of the Department of Superintendence and a second session in connection with the American Sociological Society. The primary purpose of the association is to assist in the standardization of Educational Sociology as a teaching subject and to develop, by interchange of experiences and studies, a technique for scientific research in this field. Its secondary purpose is to foster solidarity and friendships among the people teaching, or otherwise interested in, this subject.



## Inter-State Reports from the Fields of Public Welfare and Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF LABOR TURNOVER

WALTER J. MATHERLY

**L**ABOR turnover is the shifting in labor force which takes place in the management of industrial enterprises. It represents the "change in the force due to men leaving. . . . Every worker who leaves the employ of a given establishment for whatever reason constitutes a part in the turnover of that establishment. The study of labor turnover embraces the study of the causes and effects of every termination of employment and the means of preventing such terminations as are socially undesirable."<sup>1</sup>

While there are several methods for calculating labor turnover, the method most used perhaps is to divide the number of employees who leave in a given period, say one year or one month, by the average number who have been on the payroll during that period. If, for example, the average working force for the year is one hundred men, and if during the year one hundred men quit, the turnover would be one hundred per cent. If the average working force is one hundred men, and if fifty men quit, the turnover would be fifty per cent. The weekly turnover is computed in the same way. Reduced to its simplest terms, the formula is: leavings or terminations divided by average force on the payroll equals the percentage of turnover.

Since such is the nature of labor turnover, what are its social aspects? The social aspects may be summed up under three heads: first, the social causes of turnover; second, the social costs; and third, the ways or methods by which society or the community may contribute to the reduction of excessive turnover.

The social causes of labor turnover have received very little attention in the past. In practically all studies, interest has been centered on

conditions within the factory which bring about frequent changes in personnel. Little or no attempt has been made to study contributing causes outside of the factory, or within the community or city where the industrial plants are located. The bulk of our knowledge concerning labor turnover has come from investigations by employers and quite naturally they have narrowed their investigations down to causes, costs and methods which directly affect them in the administration of their particular establishments. They have made few excursions into the realms of community life and conditions. Consequently, we are sadly lacking in accurate data concerning the social aspects of labor turnover, and all one can do under such circumstances is to attempt to blaze a new pathway.

That there are social causes outside the four walls of the factory which tend to increase the rate of labor turnover, no one will deny. To begin with, there are often certain conditions in the community or city which make it an unattractive place in which to live. There may be poor schools or poor churches, and, in case of certain classes of workers, this is a serious drawback. Since they are interested in educating their children and in securing the proper religious influences both for themselves and their offspring, they frequently quit their jobs and go to communities where such advantages may be procured. Likewise, there may be little or no recreational facilities. The only playgrounds may be the streets, and the only amusement centers may be cheap moving picture shows. Since working people, like other normal human beings, require a modicum of fun and amusement, they sometime terminate their existing employment and seek positions where greater recreational opportunities are afforded.

<sup>1</sup> Slichter, S. H. *The Turnover of Factory Labor*, p. 1.

Moreover, there may be bad housing conditions or unattractiveness in the climate. There are many laborers who move from one factory to another, increasing the volume of turnover each time they move, simply because they can not find decent houses in which to live. "Investigations have amply proved that even the most ignorant of workers will not long remain in uncomfortable quarters. It proves, more than this—that even where bad housing is general, the worker will move from one job to another in constant search for improved housing conditions."<sup>2</sup> Also, where the city or industrial community is subject to wide extremes in climate, workers have a tendency to be discontented and to be continuously on the move. While this is not a social factor in the strict sense, yet it has its effect in contributing to the general undesirability of the locality as a place of permanent abode.

In addition to the unattractiveness of the city or industrial community as a social cause of turnover, there may be excessive labor congestion or irregularity in the type of work which the employers have to offer. If the center possesses a larger labor supply than is needed to meet demands, there is severe competition for jobs, wages are beaten down to low levels, and there is a continuous flux in the personnel of the various industrial establishments. If the industries in the locality are seasonal in nature, such for instance as canning factories and clothing trades, they operate upon a very unstable basis and the workers from time to time are more or less automatically thrown out of employment. While this state of affairs is unavoidable, in so far as the employers, employees and the immediate community are directly concerned, yet society as a whole, since it demands the production of goods which are seasonal in character, is perhaps responsible; and, in allowing such a situation to exist, contributes at least in a measure to the size and severity of labor turnover.

Furthermore, there are social causes of labor turnover which are connected with the workmen themselves. Very frequently, men terminate their employment because they dislike either the small isolated town or the big city in which their work is located. If they are in a small town, they want to go to the large city, or if they are in the large city they want to go to the small

town. Likewise, men often give up their jobs because they are migratory in their tastes and want to be always on the move. "There are large numbers of American workers, in all probability several millions, who are not definitely attached to any particular locality or to any line of industry. These migratory workers are continually moving from one part of the country to the other as opportunity for employment is presented."<sup>3</sup> Also, there are many family influences such as sickness or ambition to better the family's social standing which actuate laborers to change their work-places. Finally, there is marriage which affects the extent of turnover, especially among female workers.

Just as there are social causes of labor turnover, so also there are social costs. "The cost of labor turnover weighs heavily upon society or the public in general as well as upon employers and employees. When men flit from job to job, the public usually suffers from defective goods. When turnover cuts down labor efficiency, society sustains a loss in the use of industrial equipment. When laborers, by constantly changing employment, become shiftless and averse to continuous industrial activity, the social structure is threatened with industrial instability. Indeed, since employers and employees make up the larger part of our population, their turnover costs are the costs of the whole social order."<sup>4</sup>

To go a little more into detail, the social costs of labor turnover may appear in several different forms. At the very outset, there is the employer's cost which has its social aspects. This cost has been estimated<sup>5</sup> all the way from \$20 to \$2,000 per individual workman, depending on the kind of man and the importance of the job. While such expense is borne immediately by the employer, it by no means remains as a permanent burden upon him; it is shifted, or becomes social, at least in the larger sense, and is passed on to consumers in the shape of higher prices.

There is the cost to employees which has its social implications. This cost is represented by such items as the following: lost labor energy during the period of unemployment while the laborer is obtaining a new position; lessened

<sup>2</sup> Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from the author's article entitled "Costs of Labor Turnover" in *Administration*, April, 1922.

<sup>5</sup> Colvin, Fred H. *Labor Turnover, Loyalty and Output*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Shefferman, Nathan W. *Employment Methods*, p. 420.

efficiency due often to changing to an entirely different line of work and giving up whatever skill has already been acquired; increased frequency of accidents while learning new jobs; expense of moving from one city to another or to a different section of the same city; and demoralization of the workers in general, giving rise to shiftless habits among the laboring classes, destroying their ambition for better things, and causing them to cease their efforts to climb to higher social levels. "Far more important as a cause of demoralization among the workers is the turnover as a *symptom* of demoralization which exists for other reasons. Particularly significant is it as a symptom of conditions which give rise to unsatisfactory industrial conditions and relations, and which naturally sap the morale of the men."<sup>6</sup> All of this reacts more or less on society or the community and represents a big loss in the life adjustments of the social organism.

Finally, there is the cost to charitable agencies and employment bureaus which has its social significance. When laborers are frequently changing their jobs there is likely to be an increased burden on the institutions which provide temporary relief for the needy, since such laborers are often compelled to seek means to tide them over the varying period which elapses between the time they leave the old job and connect with the new. Likewise, there is a heavier load on the employment agencies, since they must bring employers and workers together more frequently and expend larger amounts to take care of their administrative machinery.

While such seem to be the social costs and causes of labor turnover, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that careful study and analysis in quantitative terms are needed before any accurate conclusions can be drawn. Since statistical proof at the present time is almost totally lacking, it is imperative that serious investigation be undertaken along this line, sponsored jointly by private and public agencies. While the problem is difficult and its ramifications extend over a wide territory, yet correct data may be secured if only prolonged effort is put forth and close coöperation exists between employers and employees on the one side and trained investigators on the other.

But it is not enough to investigate and analyze the social causes and costs of labor turnover. That and that alone is more or less worthless. To meet requirements in full, we must go one step further and devise ways and means by which society or the community may reduce labor turnover. Unless we offer remedies for the evils we discover, our discoveries are foolish expenditures of time, money and energy, and profit us nothing.

In what ways may society or the industrial community contribute to the reduction of labor turnover? There are several ways: first, by coöperating with employers and employees in making the community a pleasant place in which to live; second, by providing relief from labor congestion in the community; third, by giving aid in regularizing employment; and fourth, by fostering industrial education.

In removing the social causes of labor turnover, no one industrial plant can do very much. To get very far, there must be coöperation between all industrial plants on the one hand and representatives of the community on the other. Except in mill villages where one company builds the houses, paves the streets, erects the school buildings, and constructs the churches, no one manufacturing establishment by itself can make a locality a desirable place in which to live. To make an industrial community attractive to the workers and to develop within them a desire for permanency of abode, the combined efforts of all the companies within the center plus the center's own efforts are required. "Society justly holds industry responsible for certain results; employers, therefore, must be not only permitted but must be encouraged to use their fullest intelligence in attaining these results. Furthermore, it is society's duty to support them in their efforts instead of indulging in ill-founded, destructive criticism which has become the fashion, especially among inexperienced theorists and academicians."<sup>7</sup>

The same doctrine applies to the workers. A few public-spirited workmen by themselves can not achieve very great results in improving community living conditions. They must have the assistance of all the other workmen who make up the town or neighborhood and those who

<sup>6</sup> Slichter, S. H. *The Turnover of Factory Labor*, p. 158.

<sup>7</sup> Gilson, Mary B. "The Relation of Home Conditions to Industrial Efficiency." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, v. LXV, May, 1916, on "Personnel and Employment Problems," p. 280.



represent the public at large. "If a community spirit is developed and the laborers and their families take pride in their homes, their schools and their churches, there will be little desire on the part of wage-earners to seek for frequent changes in employment. If there is any change at all it will be only a change to some other factory in the same locality, and not a change due to town or community environment."<sup>8</sup>

A further way of improving the attractiveness of the community is to provide proper housing facilities. In some cases, this is done entirely by employers; in other cases, real estate firms handle the matter; in still other cases, employees build their own homes. Regardless of the manner in which the homes are constructed, the chief point of emphasis is to provide homes. Or, to go to the heart of the whole problem, the chief object is to have employees own their homes. Practically all investigations have shown that the greatest degree of industrial unrest is found among the non-owners of homes. Give a workman a roof for himself and family, and he not only sticks to his job but also becomes a better citizen and is less likely to be carried away by unsound doctrines and socialistic propaganda.

In addition to improvement in community life and conditions, society may aid in reducing labor turnover by helping to provide relief from labor congestion in certain industrial centers. This can be done possibly by working out a national system of employment agencies and labor exchanges which will distribute the labor supply and stabilize labor mobility throughout the country. While such machinery is very difficult to establish and perhaps even more difficult to work after it is established, yet this is an objective toward which society in its organized capacity might work, and in so doing reduce the volume of turnover and save the social costs alike to employers, employees and the public.

Again, society may assist in reducing labor turnover by helping to regularize employment. Much of the irregularity in operating industrial

concerns is due to style changes and whims of consumers. Many industrial enterprises are seasonal in character simply because the purchasing public compels them to produce a wide variety of commodities. If customers were satisfied with less variation in size, type and design, manufacturing establishments could standardize their output, regularize their production, and stabilize the work which they have to offer to labor. This would reduce frequency of shut-downs, tone up the employment situation, and lessen the volume of labor turnover in general.

Lastly, society may aid in cutting down labor turnover by fostering industrial education. Where the social causes of turnover are connected with the workmen themselves, the only remedy lies in the process of enlightenment. It is impossible to prevent constant changes in a factory's personnel so long as the lack of skill and inefficiency are rampant. Where workers are incapable of holding decent jobs, we must give them appropriate training for the performance of their tasks, even at society's expense if necessary. Where they are migratory in nature, we must teach them the advantages of permanent homes and offer inducements to them to settle down in definite localities. Above everything else, we must place trade education within reach of every one and provide methods by which every workman can achieve the best that native talent and honest effort have to offer. If we do this, most of the social causes of labor turnover which reside in the laborers themselves will vanish.

The social aspects of labor turnover, then, involve the social causes of turnover, the social costs, and the methods by which society or the community may help to reduce excessive turnover. If we investigate and analyze the causes and costs, we will be in a position to devise remedial measures. If we can devise remedial measures by which society, working in conjunction with employers and employees, may reduce labor turnover to a minimum, we will increase the productivity of labor, improve the efficiency of the industrial machine, and strengthen the whole social and economic order.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted from the author's article entitled "Fundamental Ways of Reducing Labor Turnover," in *Administration*, October, 1922.

## PERSONNEL STUDIES IN SOUTHERN INDUSTRIES

HARRIET L. HERRING

NO FIELD FOR scientific research has been so neglected, and lamentably so, as that of the collection, classification and interpretation of facts regarding the personnel of our Southern industries. Time, money, effort, unmeasured have been spent in research to improve the stop motion of a loom or the efficiency of a scrubbing machine, while the sociological and economic facts regarding the persons who man the machines have been unnoticed.

Ask the average mill superintendent or manager if many of his employees are illiterate and he will assure you that "practically all of them can at least read and write." If this be so, where are the people who make up the rather large per cent of illiterates in North Carolina according to the 1920 census—or the other Southern states? Are the mill operatives as a whole so much above the average for the state in the matter of literacy? Ask him if he has trained his workers himself or if they come to him experienced, and with a few expensive "green hands" in mind he will declare that he has trained enough people in the last so many years to run all the mills in the county. Follow this—but not too closely—with a question as to the amount of labor turnover in his plant. Remembering the money he is spending for welfare work and the fairly satisfactory responses that his community workers are securing, he will complacently tell you that his people are well satisfied and that while there is some coming and going, it is among the less desirable, and is not so very large anyhow.

Such contradictory misconceptions based on guess work or the recollection of a few individual cases are contrary to the scientific spirit that has wrought the tremendous changes in the textile industry of the South; they are contrary to the spirit in sociology which believes that general principles controlling even variable human nature can be evolved if we can secure enough observations to justify conclusions.

A few industrial establishments of the South are beginning to collect such data, and it is hoped that as such facts are accumulated in large enough numbers, over long enough periods to secure averages free from peculiar fluctuations that we may be able to form a truer foundation for a

study of the economic and social life in our industries.

The Carolina Cotton & Woolen Mills Co., Spray, N. C., conducts such a bureau of personnel research, the object of which is to keep records of employees working and to analyze the personal and work records of those leaving. One of the many subjects upon which statistics are tabulated is the per cent of labor turnover for the several mills in the organization. Contrary to the policy of most companies where the per cent of turnover, if it is known at all, is a secret mentioned only in whispers in the manager's office, this company frankly publishes the figures in the company paper. The fact that knowledge of a situation is one of the most effective steps in improving it is shown by the interest taken by all major and minor executives in improving their own record and beating that of other mills in the organization.

Other questions upon which figures are being collected and from which conclusions will be drawn as enough accumulate to justify it are: relation of turnover among men and women; reason for leaving; extent of illiteracy among the employees of the organization; and the interrelations of all these on the turnover. Another subject of profound importance, in the mind of the writer at least, is the study of the work records of employees owning their own homes. If statistics should show that home owning employees make a regular, thrifty and altogether satisfactory workers as those in company houses—and statistics of this company over a short period seem to show that they are somewhat better than the average—such facts would justify a reconsideration by many mills of elaborate housing schemes.

Such, then, are some of the problems that can be really studied when we have knowledge of the facts behind and causing the problems. And surely when we have the knowledge we shall not lack apostles, not only among sociologists and all students of community life, but among the mill executives as well. They already believe, as their extensive welfare schemes attest, that better men and women, better citizens make better products and more profits. When they are willing to apply the principles of collection and study of facts to find what constitutes, for them, a good employee, a good group of employees and good conditions, then we shall have directed and scientific progress in industrial personnel.

## A NEW METHOD IN OHIO WITH CRIPPLED CHILDREN

HARRY H. HOWETT

THE Division of Charities, Ohio Department of Public Welfare (formerly the Ohio Board of State Charities) has since 1914 carried on a child-caring work based largely upon the idea that it is not economical or humane to herd dependent and unfortunate children in institutions except for temporary care. This idea was brought to the state by the Children's Code Commission probably from the White House conference of 1909 and registered in the statutes in 1913. Another similar step was taken in 1921 which provides a legal way to abandon county children's homes.<sup>1</sup> Up to date the child-care division of the state has cared for over 2,200 children and has had the use of only one institution with a capacity of 13 children, a room for isolation and an office for a physician and a trained nurse.

The latest move of this division is to apply this same idea to the care of crippled children. Before going into the details of the work it may be wise to give a brief historical statement.

On March 17, 1906 Governor Pattison approved senate bill number 63 which provided for a<sup>2</sup> commission to select and purchase a site upon which it should erect the "Ohio institution for the treatment and education of deformed and crippled children." Fifty thousand dollars was made available then and at different times afterward for this purpose by the legislature.

On March 28, 1917 the Hon. James H. Cox, Governor of Ohio, approved an amendment (house bill number 584) to the former statutes<sup>3</sup> which made it possible to erect the institution on land already owned by the state and which increased the appropriation to ninety thousand dollars. This was in keeping with a similar movement in other states of the union.<sup>4</sup> This amount was reappropriated by the eighty-third general assembly of Ohio in 1919 but finally lapsed in 1921. The statutes are still unrepealed but there is no money available now to carry out their provisions. The state auditor's report for 1920

shows the commission spent fourteen dollars and eighty-five cents (\$14.85) in the fiscal year.

While the eighty-third general assembly in 1919 reappropriated the ninety thousand dollars for the use of the commission it also recognized the possibility of caring for the dependent crippled children of the state without an institution. It passed the<sup>5</sup> Cummins bill (house bill number 158) which provided that the Board of State Charities could "receive into its custody" and "provide suitable medical and surgical treatment of crippled children whose parents or guardians fail or are financially unable to provide such treatment." A "parent, guardian or some interested person" was empowered to make "application for such care and treatment . . . to the juvenile court." An appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars was made as a state fund to care for this work for the biennium. The board, through its director, Mr. C. V. Williams, refused to begin the work on such an inadequate appropriation. However, when the biennium was two-thirds spent the work was begun and fifty-two cases were accepted from the juvenile courts of the state and by the aid of additional appropriations secured from the state emergency board the work was kept going until August 1921 when the present legislation became effective.

Each piece of legislation has had supporters. The institution plan was, we are told, sponsored at one time by Brigadier General C. E. Sawyer, the present personal physician to President Harding. The passage of the Cummins bill was aided by the friends of the Gates Memorial Hospital for Crippled Children at Elyria.

In the meantime public sentiment in the state seemed to be crystalizing and began to demand that something more substantial be done for crippled children. There was a real desire to know how many crippled children there were in the state and what it would cost to cure or care for them. Also whether or not such children were receiving proper educational advantages. As usual when there is an awakening of the public conscience it reflects itself in various ways. The fifty-two cases which had come to the Div-

<sup>1</sup> See *Survey* Nov. 19, 1921. Page 277.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Ohio, Vol. 98, pages 57 to 59.

<sup>3</sup> Laws of Ohio, Vol. 107, pp. 146, 231, 307.

<sup>4</sup> Care and Education of Crippled Children, by Edith Reeves. P. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Laws of Ohio, Vol. 108, Part I. P. 134.



ision of Charities quickened a new interest in the division. It was seen that the cases *could be cared for without* a state institution. The State Department of Public Health was another natural place for the sentiment to head up as it had been formulating through the medical profession largely because of the orthopedic work which had been done by many surgeons in the war service. The State Department of Education was also realizing through pressure brought to bear by teachers that there was a real need for a renewed effort for schools for crippled children.

At this same time the sentiment which had been growing up around the Gates Memorial Hospital at Elyria, the only institution in the state which gave full time service to crippled children, was capitalized by Mr. Edgar F. Allen and through his untiring efforts the Rotary Clubs of Ohio were persuaded that this was a fertile field for some practical humanitarian service. As a result the Ohio Society for Crippled Children was formed in 1920 and took up the old idea of the Division of Charities. This society adopted it as the<sup>6</sup> "Ohio Plan" and through the initiative and excellent coöperative work of the Ohio Institute of Public Efficiency, worked out a plan for coöperation of all the interested organizations and departments. As a result two new legislative proposals were drawn up for the eighty-fourth general assembly. The legislators were found ready, generally speaking, and with the united support of the state departments, the Ohio Institute of Public Efficiency, the Ohio Council of Social Agencies, the Ohio State Medical Association,<sup>7</sup> the Crippled Children's Commission, the Ohio Society for Crippled Children and its constituency in Rotary, both bills were passed without opposition and became effective in August 1921. House bill number 200 provides for schools for crippled children,<sup>8</sup> a state supervision of special classes and a state fund subsidizing local boards of education for all expense above the per capita cost for a normal child up to a maximum of three hundred dollars per pupil, provides for paying board and transportation when necessary and even for the education of a child in its own home in special cases. Senate

bill number 174<sup>9</sup> provides for including a crippled child in the definition of a dependent as follows: "For the purpose of this chapter, the words 'dependent child' shall mean any child under eighteen years of age \* \* \* who is prevented from receiving proper education or proper physical, mental, medical or surgical examination and treatment because of the conduct, inability or neglect of its parents, step parents, guardian or other person in whose care it may be \* \* \* ." It further provides that the Division of Charities may place such wards into selected hospitals and have them cared for by approved orthopedic surgeons. Proper follow-up work at the hospitals and in the homes or boarding places is done by the social workers and nurses of the division or under their supervision.

Wonderful coöperation has been had in caring for the four hundred cases handled in the past year, from the county health commissioners, nurses, the Rotary clubs, teachers and women's organizations. Fifteen thousand dollars was set aside as a state Rotary fund by the legislature out of which the hospital costs are paid. These costs are then charged back to the county which commits the children and the county auditor pays it back into the original state fund, which the state emergency board has increased now to twenty-five thousand dollars. The state pays outright the salary of two trained nurses, one social worker with clerical experience and a bookkeeper who also does stenographic work.

A professional advisory committee of orthopedic surgeons has been provided to work with the director and to pass on technical matters connected with the hospitals and surgeons and the State Department of Health recommends the hospitals to be used.

While the work is too new to allow of any positive statements concerning its future it can be said that the plan has worked practically without difficulty and has succeeded beyond the expectations of its promoters. Problems concerning convalescent hospitals, custodial homes for the incurable and the care of children in counties where the "charity fund" is bankrupt are beginning to show themselves. But our faith is strengthened when we hear of the opti-

<sup>6</sup> *The Nation's Health*, Feb. 15, 1922. P. 114.

<sup>7</sup> *Ohio State Medical Journal*, Nov. 1, 1920. P. 829 et sq.

<sup>8</sup> *Ohio Laws*, Vol. 109. P. 257.

<sup>9</sup> *Ohio Laws*, Vol. 109. P. 361.

mism of the International Society for Crippled Children and of the plans of the Nobility of the Mystic Shrine.<sup>10</sup> The latter has a building program which it is said is nation-wide and the former which was founded at Elyria, Ohio February 2, 1922 has by-laws and "a plan" which seems full of hope for the crippled children of the United States. It would be a great day probably for the crippled children of our country if these two organizations could in some way spend their force and money in a united program in the various states of the union.

There is no longer any reason to doubt the wonderful skill of the well trained orthopedic surgeon. Therefore the state of Ohio is planning to make use of that skill for the benefit of its unfortunate children. Up to the present time under the Ohio plan the orthopedic surgeons have donated their services. It has been said that this great work is threefold, partaking of the professional which is represented by the surgeons and

<sup>10</sup> Alladin's Lamp, Masonic Temple, Columbus, O. P. 8, March 1922.

hospitals, the financial which is represented in the state and private philanthropy and the human which is represented by Rotary, the Shrine and other interested individuals and organizations.

The work is not looked upon as paternalistic but as a social and religious duty to those upon whom the waste of our modern civilization has registered itself. But this is not all, the work should continue to the end that the ultimate result would be a clean life on the part of every man and woman responsible for the next generation, more preventative measures in our social and industrial life and a united and determined movement to prevent the multiplication of human defectives.<sup>11</sup> The true economy of it all lies in prevention which is altogether the happiest way. Ohio believes this can be done better by taking the facilities to the community than by bringing the people of communities to the facilities centralized in the capital of the state.

<sup>11</sup> Elyria Telegram editorial, April 21, 1922.  
NOTE—See Bibliography prepared by Russell Sage Foundation.

## APPLYING DEMOCRACY TO SOME UNEQUAL PLACES IN GEORGIA

BOYCE M. EDENS

**D**URING 1922, 277 of Georgia's best citizens went to jail. Unlike the host of other less fortunate Georgians who were forcibly thrust into jail, they went voluntarily, and for a definite purpose. Their going was an errand of justice, a sort of concerted neighborly service that had never been performed in the history of Georgia's county jails. Like Sir Edward Oglethorpe, the founder of their state, they went seeking a better way of treating the unfortunate in prison.

What these good neighbors saw in their county jails has been written and tabulated in detail, and will soon be published so that all who wish to do so may see what manner of county jails, 42,215 men and women and children, the less fortunate Georgians, were confined in during 1921.

The State Department of Public Welfare of Georgia is charged by law to visit and inspect at periodical intervals, the county jails of the state, either by its paid agents or by local county volunteer groups that are hereafter spoken of as County Jail Visiting Committees. The object of

such visits and inspections being to improve the jails, the jail system and the treatment of jail prisoners, and to bring them both as the law puts it "up to a high and modern standard." After a survey, made by the department's agents, of a cross section of our jail situation, a series of jail standards were assembled, which when applied to the jails, should have a tendency of ultimately bringing about the desired results in jail improvement.

Ninety-five jail visiting committees were put to work in as many counties, measuring the jails in their respective counties by applying the standards, and insisting upon improvements where improvements were needed. Each of these committees were given a questionnaire or schedule on which to make report of their jail as they found it. The schedule contained 91 questions which many social workers would have declared entirely too intricate and difficult for their use, but when the schedules were received from the committee they showed every evidence of careful and painstaking care.

The Department of Public Welfare has made an exhaustive study of the work of the visiting committees presented in the schedules and has prepared an analysis of the 95 jails under study. There is something unique about this analysis. It is perhaps the most complete revelation of conditions within the county jail system of any state ever gathered or published. Its value is enhanced because the material was reported by volunteer visiting committees, who in a spirit of fairness sought the facts about the jails with the idea of helpfulness uppermost in their minds while the inspections were being made. Any discrepancies which may have crept into their reports were certainly not aimed at any particular person or thing. Such committees have in times past been tried in other states, but never before have they done their work so thoroughly and effectively. This is probably due to the confidence the Department of Public Welfare places in volunteer workers.

The conditions which the analysis reveals is nothing of which Georgia can be proud. We may console ourselves, however, in the thought that they are probably no worse than exist in some other states. In fact Georgia is far ahead of most states in the fact that her county jails are not used as punishment prisons, except for federal prisoners, and a very few state prisoners for sentences of less than six months duration. While in other states, prisoners must serve long county jail sentences in idleness and often in intolerable conditions; in Georgia only those awaiting trial are so held. But is not this all the more reason for humanizing Georgia county jails? Some might contend that a Black Hole of Calcutta is none too good for those convicted of crime, yet all will surely agree that the thousands detained annually in our county jails awaiting trial are entitled to decent living conditions and humane treatment. Many of them are innocent and none are guilty in the eyes of the law until convicted in the courts.

The analysis presents the problem in clear perspective, and points out in its several tables, feature by feature, the sound and weak points of the jails under study. Among the outstanding weaknesses it shows that 77 per cent of the jails inspected are more than 15 years old, and 30 per cent are more than 30 years old. Fifty-four per cent are not even equipped with more than two

separate compartments, so that when both sexes of both races are present at the same time, they cannot be decently segregated, and this actually happened last year in 43 county jails.

The analysis further shows that 21 per cent of the jails studied are not fireproof, and in 31 per cent the jailers do not live in the buildings, thus leaving the prisoners all night and most of the day at the mercy of each other, and without supervision. Sixty-two per cent do not have adequate bunks for prisoners to sleep upon, 26 per cent have not sufficient window area for light and ventilation, while windows are not properly located in 41 per cent. There are no electric lights in 19 per cent, and 68 per cent are so poorly lighted as to make night entrance into the compartments dangerous for the jailers. Seventy-three per cent have inadequate heating facilities.

There is no waterworks or sewerage disposal in 13 per cent. Ninety-two per cent do not have outside doors and windows screened, while 36 per cent do not even have kitchens screened, and the kitchens are not near the jails in 22 per cent. Ten per cent do not have running water; 37 per cent have no stationary wash basins; 37 per cent have neither shower baths nor tubs; and 74 per cent have no hot water connection.

With such inadequate facilities, and with no legal standard of enforcing machinery, there can be no wonder that the analysis shows neglect of humane provision of the prisoners needs. In 16 per cent prisoners were sleeping without mattresses; in 11 per cent there was inadequate bed covering and in 11 jails the prisoners were actually suffering from the cold at the time of inspection (most of the inspections were made during warm weather). Interiors needed repainting in 65 per cent. Whatever laundering of clothing and bed covering was done had to be done by the prisoners inside of their cell compartments in 34 per cent, and blankets were dirty and never laundered before being passed on to new prisoners in 51 per cent. In 93 per cent the counties provided no change of clothing for filthy prisoners, and in 74 per cent dirty clothing was not even fumigated; in 77 per cent no towels and in 9 per cent no soap. Bathing was not enforced in 77 per cent, and toilets and interiors were dirty and unsanitary in 41 per cent. Prisoners are given a medical examination in only 2 jails, while contagious and infectious diseases



are not even isolated in 74 per cent. In 86 per cent the jail physician visits the jail only when summoned by the jailer.

An average of 61 cents per day per prisoner is allowed the sheriffs as a dieting fee, and in 85 per cent only two meals daily are served to prisoners. In 33 per cent the prisoners remain in absolute idleness, not even being allowed or encouraged to participate in cleaning the jail each day. No recreation of any kind is provided—not even games, books, newspapers or magazines—in 41 per cent. Religious services are not conducted at all in 46 per cent, and only irregularly in 79 per cent. Of the eleven jails reported on under the discipline feature, whipping of prisoners occurred in 9 per cent, and solitary confinement in a dark cell or dungeon with neither bedding nor proper food in 45 per cent.

No attempt was made in the analysis to grade the jails in such a way as to establish specific jails as better than others, except by way of grading each jail feature by feature under each topic analyzed. While other states have established arbitrary systems of scoring by points, it has seemed to the department impossible to determine, for example, which is more valuable, three meals a day for prisoners or regularly enforced bathing rules. We know equipment for the classification of prisoners is more important than almost anything else in the way of jail equipment, but how much more important, the department had no way of determining. Hence no definite plan could be arrived at by which it could be accurately determined that one jail is a 70 per cent perfect jail, while another is only a 40 per cent perfect one.

The analysis divides the jails into four groups according to population, and the department arrived at an index for measuring the equipment of the jails by population groups, which while not entirely accurate, forms the basis for an interesting comparison. The index figure of the jails in counties having a population of less than 10,000 is 45.6 per cent. This is an average of the percentages of the jails which measure up to standard or most nearly measure up to standard in each of the many features that have to do with permanent equipment such as heat, light, building, cells, plumbing, etc. The index indicates that jails in the small rural counties are

very poorly equipped. Following is the index for all four population groups of counties:

Counties under 10,000 population.....	45.6%
Counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....	46.9%
Counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....	58.7%
Counties with over 35,000 population.....	66.8%

The foregoing gives a general idea of the equipment weaknesses of the small rural jails, as well as the other jails in the state. It does not show, however, the fearful overcrowding in the larger jails, nor the general inadequacy of the smaller jails in certain respects. For example:

FACILITIES FOR CLASSIFYING PRISONERS		Reach Standard
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		12%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		15%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		30%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		89%
FIRE HAZARD		
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		73%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		71%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		92%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		78%
BUNKS, MATTRESSES, AND COVER		
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		70%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		64%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		75%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		85%
WINDOW AREA SUFFICIENT FOR ADEQUATE LIGHT AND VENTILATION		
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		50%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		76%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		86%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		56%
HEATING FACILITIES		
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		14%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		23%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		39%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		100%
WATERWORKS AND SEWERAGE DISPOSAL		
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		67%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		83%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		97%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		100%
SHOWER BATHS AND BATH TUBS		
Jails in counties under 10,000 population.....		7%
Jails in counties with 10,000 to 18,000 population.....		12%
Jails in counties with 18,000 to 35,000 population.....		29%
Jails in counties with 35,000 population and up.....		100%

The analysis does not imply that all Georgia county jails are pig stys, and all jailers absolutely negligent. Some of the counties show real pride in their jails, and many of the jailers are unusually kind and humane. The analysis gives credit where credit is due, but at the same time proves conclusively to some backward jail officials that many of the standards at which they

scoff as being too ideal, are being observed in many jails.

But the inevitable conclusion of any student who studies the facts presented in the analysis, is that reasonable standards must be written into the law, and proper machinery for enforcing the law provided. A further study of the analysis will show the logic of the proposal that most of the 150 county jails be used merely as transfer jails in which prisoners would never be kept more than a few days, while one adequate well equipped district jail be developed in each of the 31 judicial circuits in the state. To consider building every new county jail that is now needed—about 125 in all—is financially out of the question; while a state system of district jails is both sensible and humane, and provides a way out of the jail difficulties into which the state has fallen.

Until 1920 there was no state department or other public or private organization whose duty it was to give attention to the needs of the state respecting better and more inclusive jail laws. Some of the jail laws now on the statute books of the state, and now in force, were enacted by our worthy forbears in periwigs and knickerbockers. As thoughtful and far-sighted as those worthies were, they had no way of looking forward to the time when jails—not gaols—would be used primarily for detention and not punishment purposes. Then too, the social conscience towards criminals and first offenders in Georgia has undergone a decided change for the better, since the days of “whipping post, stocks and pillories.”

So far as can now be ascertained, Section 404 of the Code of Georgia Laws which provides that each county jail erected after the passage of that law, must contain two apartments, “one for males and one for females,” was enacted in 1796. This law then provided that each county jail should contain the same two apartments, but that one should be used for criminals and one for debtors. It seems that this law, as originally enacted, was never changed by legislative action, so the code commission of 1861 thought better of it and re-wrote the law. Persons were then no longer imprisoned for debt, so the use of the same two apartments had to be still further differentiated, and the commission fixed the law so it would read, “one for males and one for fe-

males,” instead of one for criminals and one for debtors.

As ridiculous as it may seem, were it not for a better educated and more sympathetic public opinion and sentiment, any county in Georgia could now erect a new jail with only two apartments, and put all prisoners in them irrespective of race and sex and other very necessary classifications. Indeed this very plan of indiscriminate mixing of the races and sexes now goes on in a number of small rural county jails that were built to conform to the fearfully old and inadequate building standard laid down in the law.

The foregoing illustration of the inadequacy of Georgia's present county jail laws is only one of many that could be recited to the detriment of the entire county jail system. Almost every topic and feature of the analysis sharply reflects the need for better jail laws which will mean better jails. The department has made an extensive study of the best jail laws and thought on the subject in the country, and will at the proper time have introduced into the general assembly of the state, a completely revised code of county jail laws brought up to date. A digest of the code in its present tentative form follows:

Section 1. Extends the authority of the Department of Public Welfare over all county jails and judicial circuit jails, and all city jails and prisons in cities and towns of 5,000 or more population according to the last federal census.

Section 2. Provides for the establishment of judicial circuit jails by grand jury recommendation; provides for the appointment of judicial circuit jail boards to administer them, and prescribes the duties of such boards.

Section 3. Provides for the joint financing of the erection and maintenance of judicial circuit jails, on an equitable basis between the counties participating in the erection and maintenance of such jails; and for the prompt payment of the expense incident thereto.

Section 4. Places all existent county jails under direct control of the boards of county commissioners.

Section 5. Provides for the appointment of county and judicial circuit jailers and deputy jailers; provides their duties and qualifications; prescribes a bond and oath for jailers and deputy jailers; and provides for the payment of monthly salaries to jailers and deputy jailers.

Section 6. Provides that no prisoners sentenced in federal courts shall serve sentences in the jails and makes provision for the disposition of funds received for boarding federal prisoners awaiting trial in the jails.

Section 7. Provides for the transfer of prisoners to and from the judicial circuit jails and county jails and

to and from the jails and criminal courts, and fixes the responsibility of law enforcement officers respecting the transfer of prisoners; and prescribes the length of time prisoners shall remain in the jails of the counties participating in the maintenance of a judicial circuit jail.

Section 8. Provides for periodical inspections to be made by the Department of Public Welfare, of all jails and prisons embraced by this act; specifies the purpose of such inspections and makes it incumbent upon the department to make reports of its inspections to the chief officials of the jails and prisons, and to the governor and general assembly.

Section 9. Provides for reports of Department of Public Welfare to be sent to each county grand jury through the solicitor of each judicial circuit; and for the inspection of jails by grand juries.

Section 10. Provides rules and regulations governing the sanitation of jails, and provides for the enforcement of such rules.

Section 11. Provides for the proper lighting, heating and ventilation of jails.

Section 12. Provides medical examination of all jail prisoners and for the hospital treatment of jail prisoners; provides for the isolation of prisoners afflicted with contagious and communicable diseases and for other purposes; provides for the services of a jail physician and prescribes his duties and qualifications.

Section 13. Provides a standardized method of jail record keeping and accounting and reporting, and fixes a penalty for the failure of anyone not conforming to the provisions thereof.

Section 14. Provides correct standards for the erection of all new jails and for remodeling old jails, and for the proper separation of prisoners therein.

Section 15. Provides a penalty for defacing or damaging jail buildings and equipment.

Section 16. Provides the Department of Public Welfare with authority to condemn old inadequate jails when necessary; to order additions and improvements to such jails; to prohibit the further use of such jails until improved as ordered; subject to appeal at any time to the governor.

Section 17. Provides Department of Public Welfare must approve all plans for the erection of new jails and for the remodelling of old jails, when more than \$200 is to be spent in remodelling them.

Section 18. Provides Department of Public Welfare with authority to summon witnesses when necessary to investigate jail conditions and treatment of jail prisoners, and fixes a penalty for the failure of witnesses to appear at hearings.

Section 19. Provides for the appointment of local jail visiting committees to serve without remuneration, and prescribes the duties of such committees.

Section 20. Provides for the supervision of jails at night.

Section 21. Forbids the confinement in jail of children under 16 years of age, unless accused of crime punishable by death or life imprisonment; or unless ordered so confined by a juvenile court judge or his probation officer.

Section 22. Provides a penalty for anyone violating any provisions of the act for which no specific penalty is already provided.

At the beginning of the analysis there is presented in helpful array a series of tables, contrast charts and animated charts, setting out in adequate detail something of the human elements involved in the jail problems of the state, and especially those relating to the number of persons committed to the jails, as compared with the number confined in the punishment prisons of the state.

No one has ever dreamed that more than 40,000 people were committed to the jails of 135 Georgia counties during 1921, nor that more than half that number were confined in jails of counties with less than 35,000 population. Out of every 1,000 persons in those 135 counties, a total of 16 were committed to jail. Twenty-three out of every 1,000 of the negro population of those counties and 8 out of every 1,000 of the white population were committed to jail.

In 131 counties from which complete jail population reports for 1921 were received, 35,486 persons were committed to jail. Twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-six or 67 per cent of that number were negroes and 11,620 or 33 per cent were whites. Of the 23,866 negroes committed, 21,253 or 90 per cent were men, 2,295 or 8 per cent were women, 283 or slightly more than 1 per cent were boys under 16 years of age and 35 or slightly less than 1 per cent were girls under sixteen years of age. Of the 11,620 whites committed, 10,805 or 92 per cent were men, 639 or 6 per cent were women, 155 or slightly more than 1 per cent were boys under 16 years of age, and 21 or less than 1 per cent were girls under 16 years of age.

During 1921 only 8,658 persons were confined in all the chain-gangs and the state prison farm, while 42,215 were confined in 135 county jails for varying lengths of time. Thus nearly five times as many persons were committed to the jails as were confined in all the county chain-gangs and the state prison farm combined. From the standpoint of the number of persons sent to prison during 1921, the county jails contained an overwhelming majority of these unfortunates.

The county jail is certainly the most pressing penal institution problem today in Georgia. The services already performed by the jail visiting



committees is helping to solve this problem. The committee recommendations are steadily pointing the way—the better way—for better jails, better jail management and better treatment of jail prisoners.

It is rather early yet to forecast what the permanent and ultimate achievements of the visiting committees will be. Nevertheless, we are gratified with the reports of a number of visiting committees from various parts of the state showing improvements, in additions to jail buildings and equipment, jail management, and the treatment of prisoners. It will never be possible to estimate the intrinsic value of regular and unexpected visits to the jails by prominent men and women of the county. Such visits will often result in an entire change of attitude toward the prisoners and new appreciation of their needs. Immediately following, will be found in detail some of the noteworthy improvements that have been reported by committees as having resulted from their efforts.

New mattresses provided in 5 jails, new blankets and covering in 4 jails, seats provided in cells for prisoners in 1 jail, outside windows and doors screened in 4 jails, two windows put in to improve light and ventilation in 1 jail, building renovated to provide better separation from white and negro prisoners in 1 jail, bath tubs lavatory and toilets installed in 3 jails, much needed re-

pairs made to plumbing in 44 jails, cell interiors painted in 3 jails, general sanitary conditions reported greatly improved in 13 jails, regular bathing rules enforced in 5 jails, bath towels furnished for prisoners in 3 jails, change of underclothing furnished to prisoners in 4 jails, three meals furnished to prisoners where only two were provided heretofore in 2 jails, medical examinations provided for all newly-committed prisoners in 3 jails, boosting new jail building programs in 2 counties that badly needed new jails.

Committees in 14 counties have reported that cordial and coöperative relations have been established with county officials charged by law with the management and control of the jails and with grand juries. Undoubtedly many other committees have established such relations and have influenced county officials to adopt some of the recommendations made by them, but have not yet so reported to the department.

It has also been very gratifying to note the manner in which a number of committees have sought and obtained the coöperation of church organizations, civic clubs, chambers of commerce, women's clubs, etc., in getting their work before the public. A few committees have published their reports in the county newspapers, and have later commented in the press upon the improvements made in the jails.

## CHILD LABOR IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1912-1922

WILEY H. SWIFT

TEN years ago it was generally believed in North Carolina that the state should have very little, if anything, to say about the employment of children more than twelve years of age; now, that it is both the right and duty of the state to determine working conditions for all children under sixteen years of age is accepted as a truism by all except a few too stupid to learn. Ten years ago nobody was paying any serious attention to the enforcement of the very poor child labor law; now, we have a State Commissioner with a staff for this very purpose and a designated enforcing agency in every county. Ten years ago it was the habit of men to lift eyes to Heaven and mumble out,

"The poor ye have with you always;" now, we will not accept that as an excuse, but hold it as an indictment of society for a crime for which no child should suffer. Ten years ago it was legal to work a child just twelve years of age all night long; now, the legal age for night-work is sixteen. Ten years ago I saw our very weak child labor law violated regularly and with hardly an excuse; now, to the best of my information and belief our child labor law is generally obeyed.

### THE PRESENT STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

North Carolina does things in her own way. Our system of public welfare is one example of this; certain distinctive features of our Juvenile Court Law is another; our Combination Compul-

sory School Attendance and Child Labor Law is another and still more striking example. We do not borrow laws or plans; we make them. So far as I know, North Carolina is the only state that has this sort of combination law.

With the bare statement that in my opinion this combination idea is an excellent thing for North Carolina in that among other things, it tends to fix it firmly in our minds that the proper place for a child under sixteen years of age is the school, I turn at once to the child labor part of the law. In brief, the law provides for a fourteen year age-limit for enumerated occupations, with possible exceptions; for a sixteen year age-limit for work at night and in mines and quarries, with the night limit beginning at the late hour of nine o'clock p. m.; and for enforcement by a State Child Welfare Commission, composed of the State Superintendent of Instruction, the Secretary of the State Board of Health, and the Commissioner of Public Welfare and authorized to employ a secretary and other agents, as the state enforcing agency. The secretary and some others have been employed and the state enforcing agency is in active operation. The State Child Welfare Commission is authorized to designate County Superintendents of Public Welfare as enforcing agents, and I am informed that they have been so designated.

There should be no legislative tinkering with this part of the law. It has the elements of a complete system in that both local agents and state supervision is provided for. This ought to give full enforcement. In this field the function of the state agency should be supervision, standardization and keeping reports. The local agents ought to follow up the cases. It has been urged that because of local influences local agents will not do this efficiently. A state that cannot entrust the enforcement of its law to local agents under the supervision of a State Commission is in a bad way. We are proving, I believe, that our home folk can be trusted to look out for children.

#### DEFICIENCIES OF THE PRESENT CHILD LABOR LAW

The North Carolina Child Labor Law is not what it ought to be, not what the advancing state

of public thought and our economic condition as well as our future demand that it should be. It is below well accepted standards:

*First*, in that under this combination law it is legal for a child to quit school regardless of education. The law should require every child to attend school up to the age of sixteen unless he has completed the first seven grades of the public school course and is legally and regularly employed. The standard is the completion of the eight grades; but, perhaps, we had better not try to go too far at once.

*Second*, in that it is legal to work children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen as late as nine o'clock at night. The law ought to be amended so as to forbid the employment of children after six p. m., or certainly after seven p. m. Most workers quit now at five or six o'clock. Why should it be legal to take the spirit out of children by holding them later? There is great moral as well as physical hazard in holding children, especially girls, as late as nine o'clock at night. (That is about the hour when all the devils desert hell to work sin and sorrow on earth.)

*Third*, in that it is legal to employ children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years at occupations known to be dangerous or hazardous. This omission is so striking as to lead some to think that we are either ignorant of knowledge on this subject almost common, or else totally indifferent as to what injuries may come to children through improper employment. We are neither and our representatives in the next legislature ought to prove it by amending the law so as to make it unlawful to employ any child under sixteen years of age in any place, trade or occupation declared by the State Child Welfare Commission to be dangerous, injurious or hazardous to the life, limb, safety, welfare or morals of children under sixteen years of age, and to authorize the State Commission to make such declarations. In the laws of many states the dangerous occupations are enumerated; but it seems to me that it would be much better to leave all this to the State Commission. Change in industrial life is constant.

*Fourth*, in that there is no law regulating the employment of children in the sale of newspapers

and other street-trading. From all sections of the state come complaints from not so much socially professional as observing citizens that there is no regulation of newsboys and other street-traders. A system of licenses under proper

regulations ought to be worked out by the State Child Welfare Commission. The legislature ought to authorize the State Commission to do this either by a separate street-trades act or by amendment to the present child labor law.

## A CRIPPLE CENSUS WEEK IN NORTH CAROLINA

EMETH TUTTLE

SOMETHING over twelve hundred cases of cripples—children and adults—had been reported up to December fifteenth, as a result of the Cripple Census undertaken by the Department of Public Welfare and the Bureau of Industrial Rehabilitation. Rough estimates have been made of the cripples in North Carolina based on census returns in other states. Georgia found in a partial census 4,000 cases. Ohio in 1921 took a census and found less than North Carolina has up to date although her population is twice as great.

The plan in taking the census was to secure personal help of all county agents. To accomplish this Governor Morrison issued a request for state-wide coöperation through the newspapers and the heads of the state departments, who called upon their agents to give every possible assistance. In addition all ministers and civic and fraternal organizations were asked to help.

The work was organized in the county according to county needs. In most cases either the superintendent of public welfare or the superintendent of schools assumed the responsibility. Rotary or Kiwanis clubs sometimes conducted the census in the towns, leaving the country to the county officers. Wherever there were trained workers there were heavier returns. In Greensboro the Cripple Children's Commission helped materially with the census.

Hundreds of blanks sent out are still in the offices of county superintendents of public welfare, superintendents of schools, health officers, nurses, demonstration agents, etc., and will be coming in from time to time. It is likely that North Carolina's total will be around 4,000 when all returns are in.

One of the chief difficulties in taking such a census is the lack of social workers in many of

the counties. In mailing out our blanks it was found that fourteen counties in the state have no paid social worker unless we except the superintendent of schools, and in fourteen other counties there was only one other paid worker. This worker in most cases being the farm demonstration agent.

It is not possible at present to draw any conclusions about the relative number of cripples in rural and urban counties. Two large urban counties have made no returns up to date and several others only partial returns. A number of small rural counties have furnished many cases.

Seventy-nine counties have reported on the census. Of the twenty-one yet to be heard from fifteen have no superintendent of public welfare. In general these twenty-one are counties where the commissioners have yet to appreciate the value of social work enough to make appropriation for it. The failure to report these cases means that many children who are emergency cases may not be found and treated except by chance.

The Department of Public Welfare has carefully tabulated the 550 cases under 16 years of age and finds on December twentieth 115 children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. These are between the upper and nether mill stones. The vocational rehabilitation department cannot take people under sixteen because their regulations apply to adults. The orthopaedic hospital has not been able to take them in the past for lack of sufficient appropriation. As there is so much more hope of helping the smaller child and restoring it to normality than the older child the latter is a greater liability on the state's books. In some cases demands of the larger child are more urgent. Unless he is helped before he reaches sixteen the chances are



beggar and hence a source of constant irritation to the community. This group must be provided for.

Below the age of fourteen—435 have been reported. For them aid is provided in the orthopædic hospital but often a child must wait a long time before being called into the clinic, even though his case may be urgent. Many of the children have to stay months. The more liberal appropriation expected of the incoming general assembly will increase the capacity of the institution so that these 435 cases will not have to wait three or four years for treatment.

One hundred and sixteen of the 550 under 16 years of age are listed as subnormal mentally. Probably another fifty should be added. Occasionally the question was left blank, often there was a question mark. In some cases it was reported that 12 year old children were in the second grade in school. This may mean failure to attend school regularly or it may mean inability to learn.

The probable causes for the children's disabilities have been grouped under several heads. Where the statement was made that it was "born so" or "cripple from birth" or "never could walk" that case was listed as congenital cripple. Of these 121 were reported. Under the head of disease, which included measles, scarlet fever, etc., fifty-nine were found. Infantile paralysis claims 195. Here is evidence of the scourge of that disease over rural North Carolina in the last fifteen years. Nineteen club feet are recorded. Thirty-six have tubercular joints. Accidents are responsible for fifty-two cripples. These accidents are for the most part the kind of things that happen to rural children: "Kicked by a horse," "kicked by a mule," "kicked by a *step-mother*," run over by a truck or train, "foot cut off by a stalk cutter," burns playing with guns, broken bones set wrong, "broken back from a fall in babyhood."

The seventy-one cases listed as miscellaneous generally mean that no cause was given. A few twisted hands, bow legs, and one bleeder are included.

The total figures 550 do not include a large number (55) that are not cripples—according to the definition sent out on the blanks—"Persons whose muscular or joint movements are so far restricted by accident or disease as to effect their

present or future capacity for self support." A great many people seized the opportunity—and the blank—to report deaf, dumb, blind, feeble-minded, and epileptic. Such comments as these appear "partially dumb," "seems to be nearly blind," "can't learn in school," "eyes so weak can't learn in school," "lost use of eyelids," "has fits awful bad," "deformed, no fingers on right hand," "stomach trouble," "hands twitch, very nervous," "spinal curvature," "helpless idiot," "cross eyed," "tuberculosis," "left eye out." Quite a few feeble-minded are reported—children who have no known physical defect.

Of the colored children reported thirty-five are between fourteen and sixteen. Seventy-eight are below fourteen, making a total of 113. Of these forty are feeble-minded.

Out of the 113 colored children thirty are crippled from accident while there are only fifty-two accidents in the 550 cases of white children. The business of being a negro is a hazardous thing. No provision is made in this state for treatment for colored children. Investigations made in several colored hospitals find them willing to make low rates for treatment. Even then with railroad fare and probable surgeon's fee the cost of treatment is prohibitive. There is an opportunity for service right at hand for the generous of either race. Charity beds in several hospitals could be kept filled for several years with the cases reported so far.

In the meantime the Department of Public Welfare is referring all emergency cases to the superintendents of public welfare in the respective counties and sending them application blanks for the orthopædic hospital. A complete list of all children of normal mentality who are probably eligible for treatment are being sent to the hospital in order that the authorities can make plans for treatment.

Two things stand out conspicuously as needed before we can begin adequately to care for the cripple children in North Carolina: clinics at strategic points and a convalescent vocational home.

Many of the children needing treatment are country children living far from railroads in very simple homes. Often the parents are illiterate, poor and unaccustomed to travel and strangers. The word hospital frightens them to death. They

have visions of a red-handed doctor jerking a twisted leg straight. The word examination is not nearly so frightful. Clinics established at probably three places east of Greensboro at the points of a large triangle would save much mental anxiety to the parents of children needing examination as well as a great deal of expense, and would reduce the number of children needlessly taking a long trip to Gastonia. A well advertised clinic would bring in for examination not only the children so far reported but many others within a radius of perhaps one hundred miles. In addition the parents would have the opportunity to meet the surgeon and to see his attitude to the children. They would lose their fear of the hospital and would gladly take advantage of the opportunity to have their children treated.

A convalescent vocational home is a necessity if the orthopædic hospital is to make its best returns to the state. A cripple child even when he has received treatment is often far from nor-

mal in his contact with other children. To take a child who has come originally from a two-room cabin where he was treated either as a pet or a pest, put him in a hospital for six months where he gets expert care and attention and then return him to the same hopeless environment is scarcely fair. Then there is the case of the growing child who must wear braces. If he returns to the type of home just described practically all benefit from treatment is lost, and the family and neighbors lose faith in orthopædic surgery. The parents have been told to bring the child back at a certain time to have the brace adjusted, they are careless, the brace becomes uncomfortable and the child leaves it off.

Already one concrete result of the census is the resolution of the civic and fraternal organizations of the state to work definitely with the board of the orthopædic hospital during the coming legislature for an increased appropriation, clinics and a convalescent vocational home.

## Conferences for Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY: A BETTER AMERICA

#### THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

In the most important and remarkable meeting of all its fifty years of distinguished Service The National Conference for Social Work will this year emphasize constructive study and work with the great institutions which go to make for a better society. The seven days will not be lean days. Each day will be devoted to special emphasis upon a particular institution, the seven days encompassing the home, the school, the church, industry, law and government, health, and public opinion. And these topics are not only eminently suited to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary conference, but representative of its findings and its purposes. For, as told in a special message of President Folks.

"Beginning with a study of public institutions, it soon became evident that a great majority of the subjects of charity and correction are such because of the failure, so far as they are concerned, of one or more of the fundamental factors of human life—the home, the school, the church, industry, public opinion, or government—fully to accomplish its primary purpose. Social welfare came to mean the adaptation, modification, or development of these great factors of human life in such a way as to diminish the enormous annual crop of orphanage, widowhood, poverty, distress, disease, incapacity, disorder, and maladjustment.

This year's program will try to accomplish three things:

To review the progress made during the past fifty years in the various fields of charities, corrections, and health.

To measure the extent to which the ideals of social welfare, which have grown directly out of the study of these humanitarian agencies, have succeeded in affecting social conditions, constructively and on the preventive side.

To determine how the ideals of social welfare, slowly evolved from long years of experience in dealing with results of social maladjustment, may further permeate and influence the outstanding institutions of society and thereby reduce to a minimum the necessity for relief and for correction."

#### A NOTABLE MEETING

The meetings of the National Conference have been notable for their early beginnings of progress, for their pioneering and trail-blazing efforts, for the comprehensiveness of their subjects, for the representative nature of their speakers, and for the quality of the actual contributions that have been made. In looking over the programs for the last decade and a half, for instance, one finds something like 1800 different participants, representing many professions and callings. The largest number was found in the great war years of 1918 and 1919 with one year showing as many as 156 different speakers on principal themes. The National Conference was in the midst of the needs. Likewise there have been hundreds of projects described, hundreds of proposed efforts set forth, hundreds of bits of theory and discussion produced. A short paper giving the distribution of these efforts for a decade and a half will indicate in the next month's JOURNAL something of the variety and value of the conferences from a purely superficial numerical viewpoint. The 1923 meeting will surpass by far any other ever held.

#### A CALL TO ATTEND IN FULL FORCE

The call comes now to social workers everywhere to join in this fiftieth anniversary, not only for its past record, for its 1923 program, but also because it ought to be the beginning of a greater fifty years and it ought to provide stimulation



for a national movement forward. While the program of the conference will not appear in full until some days after the March JOURNAL the following committees for the seven days will indicate something of the standards that may be expected from the seven days' meetings.

#### LAW AND GOVERNMENT

Roscoe Pound of Cambridge, Mass., Chairman.  
Robert W. Kelso of Boston, Mass., Vice-Chairman.  
Ernest P. Bicknell of Washington, D. C.  
Amos W. Butler of Indianapolis, Ind.  
Joseph P. Byers of Frankfort, Ky.  
Felix Frankfurter of Boston, Mass.  
Robert Harvey Gault of Evanston, Ill.  
John L. Gillin of Madison, Wis.  
William Hodson of St. Paul, Minn.  
Hon. Julian W. Mack of Chicago, Ill.  
Kenneth L. M. Pray of Philadelphia, Pa.  
Hon. J. Hoge Ricks of Richmond, Va.  
John H. Wigmore of Chicago, Ill.  
Mrs. O. H. Wittpenn of Jersey City, N. J.  
Charles E. Vasaly of St. Paul, Minn.  
John M. Glenn of New York.

#### THE SCHOOL

Helen T. Woolley of Detroit, Mich., Chairman.  
J. Prentice Murphy, of Philadelphia, Pa., Vice-Chairman.  
J. H. Beveridge of Omaha, Neb.  
Lucia Johnson Bing of Rio Grande, O.  
M. Edith Campbell of Cincinnati, O.  
C. C. Carstens of New York.  
Charles L. Chute of New York.  
John Dewey of New York.  
Dr. Thomas D. Eliot of Evanston, Ill.  
Emma Lundberg of Washington, D. C.  
Prof. Henry C. Morrison of Chicago, Ill.  
Amy D. Steinhart of Sacramento, Cal.  
Mrs. Frank D. Watson of Haverford, Pa.  
Lee Bidgood of University, Ala.  
Prof. Frank E. Spaulding of New Haven, Conn.  
Dr. Helen MacMurchy of Ottawa, Can.  
Herbert S. Weet of Rochester, N. Y.  
Anna B. Pratt of Philadelphia, Pa.  
Grace Abbott of Washington, D. C.  
Dr. Bernard Glueck of New York.  
Henry W. Thurston of New York.  
Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith of Gainesville, Tex.  
Dr. Lilburn Merrill of Seattle, Wash.  
Arthur W. Towne of Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Rev. Bro. Barnabas of Winnipeg, Can.  
Dr. R. R. Reeder of Van Wert, O.

#### THE HOME

Porter R. Lee of New York, Chairman.  
Karl de Schweinitz of Philadelphia, Pa., Vice-Chairman.  
Frederic Almy of Buffalo, N. Y.  
Mary Dewson of New York.  
Frank P. Foisie of Seattle, Wash.

Annie I. Gerry of Boston, Mass.  
Prof. James E. Cutler of Cleveland, O.  
Frances Perkins of New York.  
Joseph Lee of Boston, Mass.  
Helen W. Hanchette of Cleveland, O.  
Florence Nesbitt of Chicago, Ill.  
David H. Holbrook of New York.  
Gordon Hamilton of New York.  
Rev. C. H. Le Blond of Cleveland, O.  
Joanna C. Colcord of New York.  
Edith Elmer Wood of Cape May Court House, N. J.

#### HEALTH

Dr. Livingston Farrand of Ithaca, N. Y., Chairman.  
Dr. Donald B. Armstrong of New York, Vice-Chairman.  
Prof. C. E. A. Winslow of New Haven, Conn.  
Dr. Haven Emerson of New York.  
Dr. Linsiy R. Williams of New York.  
Dr. William F. Snow of New York.  
Bailey B. Burritt of New York.  
Dr. Lee K. Frankel of New York.  
Dr. Hoyt E. Dearholt of Milwaukee, Wis.  
Dr. Eugene R. Kelley of Boston, Mass.  
Dr. S. J. Crumbine of Topeka, Kans.  
John R. Commons of Madison, Wis.  
Dr. Charles J. Hastings of Toronto, Can.  
Dr. Hugh S. Cumming of Washington, D. C.  
Elizabeth Fox of Washington, D. C.  
Dr. Herman M. Biggs of New York.  
Dr. Watson S. Rankin of Raleigh, N. C.  
Dr. C. M. Hincks of Toronto, Can.  
Dr. William H. Welch of Baltimore, Md.  
Dr. Albert M. Barrett of Ann Arbor, Mich.

#### INDUSTRY

Rev. John A. Bryan of Washington, D. C., Chairman.  
Edith Abbott of Chicago, Ill.  
Mary Anderson of Washington, D. C.  
John B. Andrews of New York.  
Fred C. Croxton of Columbus, O.  
Florence Kelley of New York.  
Owen R. Lovejoy of New York.  
Dr. David A. McCabe of Princeton, N. J.  
Arthur J. Todd of Chicago, Ill.  
Mary VanKleeck of New York.  
Edward T. Devine of New York.  
Henry S. Dennison of Framingham, Mass.  
John R. Shillady of New York.  
Mrs. W. L. Murdoch of Birmingham, Ala.  
Rev. J. G. Shearer of Toronto, Can.  
James Mullenbach of Chicago, Ill.  
Charles P. Neill of Washington, D. C.  
John A. Lapp of Chicago, Ill.  
J. E. Hagerty of Columbus, O.  
Wesley C. Mitchell of New York.

#### PUBLIC OPINION

Dr. John H. Finley, of New York, Chairman.  
George A. Hastings of New York, Vice-Chairman.  
Nolan R. Best of New York.  
C. M. Bookman of Cincinnati, O.  
John William Cunliffe of New York.

George J. Hecht of New York.  
 John A. Kingsbury of New York.  
 Walter Lippmann of New York.  
 Prof. Charles E. Merriam of Chicago, Ill.  
 Robert Lincoln O'Brien of Boston, Mass.  
 Howard W. Odum of Chapel Hill, N. C.  
 Mrs. E. G. Routzahn of New York.  
 Eugene Kinckle Jones of New York.  
 Elwood Street of St. Louis, Mo.  
 Graham Romeyn Taylor of New York.  
 Edwin C. Jones of Chicago, Ill.  
 Mrs. Henry Moskowitz of New York.  
 William J. Norton of Detroit, Mich.  
 Sherman C. Kingsley of Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Lawrence F. Abbott of New York.  
 Sir Robert A. Falconer of Toronto, Can.  
 John P. Gavit of New York.  
 W. O. Jones of Lincoln, Neb.  
 Paul Kellogg of New York.

## CHURCH

Mrs. John M. Glenn of New York, Chairman.  
 Rev. Worth M. Tippy of New York, Vice-chairman.  
 Jeffrey R. Brackett of Boston, Mass.  
 Frank J. Bruno of Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Shelby M. Harrison of New York.  
 George E. Haynes of New York.  
 Rev. Charles N. Lathrop of New York.  
 Mary E. McDowell of Chicago.  
 Rev. Frank H. Nelson of Cincinnati, O.  
 Rev. Frederic Siedenburg of Chicago, Ill.  
 Rev. Gaylord S. White of New York.  
 Fred M. Butzel of Detroit, Mich.  
 H. S. Braucher of New York.  
 Graham Taylor of Chicago, Ill.  
 Rev. William J. Kerby of Washington, D. C.  
 Emil G. Steger of St. Paul, Minn.  
 Gertrude Vaile of Denver, Colo.  
 Rabbi Martin A. Meyer of San Francisco, Cal.  
 Rev. G. C. Pidgeon of Toronto, Can.

## 50TH CONFERENCE SEEN AT A GLANCE

*Place:* Washington, D. C.

*Time:* May 16-23 inclusive.

*Topic:* "Social Work in the Life of Today."

*Program:* Each day of the Conference will be devoted to a consideration by the whole Conference of the ways in which social work has permeated and affected the following outstanding permanent institutions of society:

Health	The Home
Industry	The School
Public Opinion	The Church
Law and Government	

*Attendance:* Delegates and speakers from Europe are expected, as well as between 4,000 and 5,000 delegates from the United States and Canada.

*Washington Office:* 1714 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C. (already opened).

*Conference Headquarters:* Hotel Washington (during Conference week).

The May JOURNAL will feature the Conference purpose.

## A FORWARD MOVE IN GEORGIA

BURR BLACKBURN

**"T**O make Georgia a better place in which to rear a child" is the slogan which has been adopted by the re-organized Georgia Council of Social Agencies, which inaugurated a new program on January 1, 1923 with a paid executive secretary and a budget of \$7,500.

The council is composed of two sections: an executive section, comprising in its membership 28 state social service organizations, and an advisory, section in process of formation, to be composed of 100 or more prominent lay leaders from all parts of the state. The central committee, which directs the activities of the council between meetings of the executive section, and all subcommittees of the council are to be composed of representatives of both the executive and advisory sections. However, the executive section, in which each agency is represented by one staff member and one board or lay member, is the final authority in all matters.

The Georgia council was organized in 1920 under the inspiration of Fred C. Croxton, chairman of the Ohio state council, who was brought to Georgia by Joseph C. Logan, manager of the southern division of the American Red Cross. It has been headed from the beginning by Cator Woolford, president of the Retail Credit Co., of Atlanta, a layman who has applied his interest in business efficiency to the social work programs of Atlanta and Georgia during the last ten years, always with an emphasis on encouragement of pioneering and prevention of overlapping and lost motion. During the past two years the council has developed among agencies a new understanding of each others' programs and facilities and real coöperation between them. Last year it planned and held a number of joint district conferences in different parts of the state.

The new program is made possible by a grant of \$3,750 by the Commonwealth Fund of New York, which has been matched by a similar sum raised in Georgia, most of which was given by the chairman, Mr. Woolford, with the understanding that in future years the support should come from a larger number of contributors.

The objective of the council is summarized as follows: "A concerted, coöperative effort to promote efficiency, economy and collaboration among its member agencies in their efforts to serve local communities; to study the state's social problems and to develop remedial measures."

This general statement is more clearly defined in a six-fold statement of the council's objectives as expressed in its constitution. These objectives can be illustrated from the year's program which was adopted at the first meeting in January:

1. Through committees the council to study the needs of the state in various social fields.

Two study committees have been authorized and are now being organized. The first is a committee on children's laws, which is to bring to the aid of the children's code commission the technical advice and help of the agencies in the council and its advisory members. The second is a committee on treatment and prevention of crime. This committee is to study the work of the courts and agencies serving in this field.

Study committees of the council will never publicly promote any reform program. They will first find what the agencies which have an interest in the field studied are trying to do, and if necessary, recommend any needed redivision of work; they will measure the work done against any reliable standard which can be secured by the committee and determine whether or not there is any unmet need which one of



the agencies cannot or will not meet. If there is such a need, the council committee will endeavor to get one of the agencies to make a study of the situation, with any available outside help, and to head up the campaign for the improvement which the study calls for.

If there is no such existing agency to make the study and head up the campaign, the council committee, council approving, will develop such an agency, which will then become an independent agency, and a member of the council.

Georgia is lacking many of the state agencies which are common in other states, such as child labor committee, state probation association, state prison association, etc., and it is probable that out of the council studies some such organizations may be developed.

2. To aid the State Children's Code Commission and similar volunteer groups with technical advice and with the services of the council's executive secretary.

At the request of the Georgia Children's Code Commission, which was authorized by the legislature of 1922, the secretary of the council is serving as the executive secretary of the commission. The commission has divided its work under four subcommittees as follows:

- Juvenile Courts and Delinquency.
- Dependent, Neglected and Defective Children.
- Child Health and Recreation.
- Education and Employment.

Under the secretary's direction the state agencies interested in each of these fields are now engaged in making a study of just how Georgia measures up to the minimum child welfare standards which were adopted at the Washington conference of 1919. During the spring joint meetings of the state council and code commission committees will consider the information gathered by the agencies with a view to determining: first, what legislation should be pressed this year; and, second, what further studies are necessary in planning the commission's long-time legislative program. Aid from national agencies will then be secured in making these studies, but the commission plans to use Georgia agencies for this work as far as possible.

The secretary of the council has also been authorized to aid in the reorganization and functioning of the State Mental Hygiene Committee, the State Association of Children's Institutions and the State Association of Family Service

agencies, which have lapsed because of the lack of just such an executive staff to look after their detail work and assist in the formulation of their policies.

3. To arrange regular meeting of organizations having statewide programs for the presentation and discussion of their work, and consideration of their joint responsibilities, and to arrange annual state and district conferences of social work.

At the first meeting of the council in January this year, each of the member agencies presented in a five minute talk an outline of its organization, statement of its policies and a survey of the extent of its work in the various communities throughout the state. Each speaker explained a chart, which the secretary of the council had assisted in preparing, and as the complete social program of the state passed in panorama, many of the staff members of the state agencies realized for the first time the enormity of the social work program, and not only the diversity, but the unity of the effort, all tending "to make Georgia a better place in which to rear a child."

At this meeting also a functional committee was authorized on social work conferences and training, which will have charge of any social work conferences to be held during the year and will assist the state university in the development of social work training during the summer school.

A committee was authorized also on arrangements and reception for the meeting of the Southern Child Welfare Conference to be held in Atlanta March 13-14 and assist in meetings which will be held at the same time;—the staffs of the Southern Welfare Departments, the Georgia Association of Children's Institutions and the Georgia Juvenile Court and probation officers.

4. To provide liaison between these state organizations, exchange of information about their work, obviate misunderstandings, through consultation to make possible coöperation between the various field staffs, to consolidate and make available information concerning localities and leadership in communities.

This work will result from constant visitation of the agencies by the executive secretary and the holding of "County Case Committees,"—the plan which has been developed so successfully in Ohio. The first of these meetings was requested by the American Red Cross as they were asked for advice by a chapter which was planning the expenditure of its local funds. Every agency

was notified that this specific county situation would be up for consideration, and at the meeting all the knowledge with regard to that county was pooled, local situations brought out, which one agency would never have discovered, and a coördinated plan for contacts of all the agencies with the community resulted. The Red Cross field agent then went into the county thoroughly prepared to assist the local Red Cross chapter in finding its proper place in the community's life. She had also the expressed consent of the state organizations to call into conference the leaders of their local units in order that the entire community might have a voice in settling the responsibility of the Red Cross chapter.

5. To concentrate the attention of all, or several organizations, upon certain communities at opportune times, developing joint studies or surveys, and plans for the development of a well rounded local program. To stimulate the organization of local Councils of Social Agencies.

The council will not rush into this activity and will probably never attempt more than one or two surveys during one year and will await the time when some community urgently requests that a survey be made and is willing to put up sufficient funds to cover the expense.

However, the council has authorized a functional committee on community councils. Under their direction, the secretary will get in touch with the community councils now formed or in process of formation and render them all possible aid. It is probable that the committee will formulate a series of standards or principles for the guidance of communities in developing councils and financial federations.

6. To carry on a constructive publicity program for the advancement of social ideals in the state and to promote the programs of the member agencies.

Such work will of course be incidental to the visitation and committee work of the executive secretary. It is expected, however, that the first addition to the staff of the council, when funds permit, will be a director of public information to give special attention to the publicity and educational work of the member agencies and to advance social ideals through every possible avenue.

Following is a list of the member agencies

arranged under the eight major fields of social work which are covered by the council:

#### HEALTH

State Board of Health.  
State Health Council.  
State Tuberculosis Association.  
American Red Cross Nursing Service.  
State Nurses' Association.

#### EDUCATION

State Department of Education.  
State Agricultural College (Department of Extension and Home Economics).  
State College for Women (Extension Division).  
State Library Commission.

#### DEPENDENCY—DELINQUENCY—NEGLECT

State Department of Public Welfare.  
American Red Cross.  
Salvation Army.  
Georgia Children's Home Society.  
State Association of Children's Institutions.  
State Association of Family Service Agencies.  
State Committee on Race Relations.  
State Board of Vocational Rehabilitation.  
State League for Law Enforcement Through Constituted Authority.

#### PENAL

State Prison Commission.  
MENTAL HYGIENE  
State Society for Mental Hygiene.  
State Department of Public Welfare.

#### INDUSTRIAL

State Department of Commerce and Labor.

#### RECREATION AND SOCIAL

State Y. M. C. A.  
South Atlantic Division Y. W. C. A.  
Southern Division American Playground and Recreational Association  
Boy Scouts.  
Junior Red Cross.

#### CIVIC AND LEGISLATIVE

State Federation of Women's Clubs.  
League of Women Voters.  
Children's Code Commission.  
State Parent-Teachers Association.

The central committee is composed of the following: Cator Woolford, chairman; Joseph Logan, vice-chairman, (Manager Southern Division American Red Cross); T. F. Abercrombie, (State Commissioner of Health); Mrs. Tom Hudson, (member advisory section); M. M. Parks, (State Superintendent of Education);

Mrs. Howard McCall, (member advisory section); Burr Blackburn, (executive secretary).

The work of the council will reach its climax each year in an annual joint meeting of the executive and advisory sections, when the com-

mittees will make their reports and the larger social problems of the state will be considered. It is hoped that the annual meeting will become *the voice of Georgia* in behalf of constructive social progress.

## TEXAS COUNCIL OF STATEWIDE AGENCIES

ELMER SCOTT

**T**HE Texas Council of Statewide Agencies was organized on September 28, 1920 following a spontaneous action on the part of some 40 or 50 representatives of various agencies who had met in San Antonio on September 11 to plan for the annual meeting of the Texas Conference of Social Welfare.

Mr. Fred Croxton, founder of the Ohio Council of Social Agencies, was in Texas at the time and, on invitation, so set out the functions of that organization that there was then and there created a committee on preliminary organization—which latter was made permanent at the September 28th meeting of official delegates of statewide agencies.

The constitution in addition to setting out that the officers and executive committee should consist of a chairman, a secretary and one other member, the time of meetings and the original membership, made the following provisions which very closely follow the Ohio plan.

"Each agency may be represented by not more than two delegates, and each agency shall have one vote.

"At the November 19, 1920, meeting in San Antonio, motion was passed that at least one delegate from each member agency shall be continuous for a period of one year, except in case of the inability of the delegate to serve out his term.

"The purpose of the council is to enable each of the associating statewide organizations to discuss its program and policies with other agencies of the council; to prevent overlapping and duplication of social work; to enable the associating organizations to coördinate their state work and their work in local communities; and to enable them to act jointly in promoting social work in local communities.

"Action by the council shall not bind any agency participating in the council, should that action not conform to the principles or program of that

agency; nor shall any agency participating in the council be bound to assume any financial obligations."

Membership admission is governed by the following rule:

Membership in the Texas Council of Statewide Social Agencies is open to the public and private institutions and organizations that exist essentially for social service and social welfare purposes; that serve the state as a whole through a trained personnel either in a supervisory and administrative capacity or through local branches; and that are in sympathy with the purposes of the Texas Council of Statewide Social Agencies.

The present membership of the council is as follows:

- The State Department of Education.
- The State Department of Health.
- The State Department of Labor.
- American Red Cross.
- Texas Federation of Women's Clubs.
- Texas Congress of Mothers.
- Y. M. C. A.
- Y. W. C. A.
- Salvation Army.
- Texas Public Health Association.
- Texas State Library.
- League of Women Voters.
- Texas Children's Home and Aid Society.
- Extension Department of Texas A. & M. College.
- Extension Department of University of Texas.
- Texas W. C. T. U.
- Texas Association of Family Social Work.
- Texas Waterworks Association.

Meetings are held bi-monthly during the council year, in September, November, January, March and May—usually on the second or third Mondays. At least two sessions are held and sometimes three and an additional luncheon conference.



The character of the meetings is indicated by the following subjects discussed at the eleven meetings held from November 1920 to November 1922:

Mapping of activities of all agencies in all counties of the state.

The development of a School of Social Work in Texas.

Financing of a state secretary serving both the state council and the state conference.

The Mexican in Texas.

Social work with families.

Joint sessions with Southwestern Political Science Association on the Mexican problem and training for social work.

Juvenile delinquency laws.

Standards in treatment of juvenile delinquency.

The health programs of all statewide agencies.

Annual meeting with state conference.

Harris county and the functions and activities of all statewide agencies with programs in that county.

Health programs of state agencies.

School programs of state agencies.

Committee report on county councils.

Adoption of committee report on recommendations for county councils.

The negro as a factor affecting social progress.

Legislative program of state agencies.

The educational forces, opportunities and needs of the state.

All meetings are wholly informal. The first session includes an exposition by each delegate of any changes in personnel, policy or program that have taken effect since the last meeting. The set subject for the sessions is usually presented briefly by a chosen delegate. The council then *counsels* in round table discussion.

The Texas Council is simply a delegate body representative of the various statewide organized social movements of the state and in no way conflicts with or takes the place of the Texas Conference of Social Welfare which is an open annual meeting of all social workers and socially minded folk.

There can be no definite evaluation of its effectiveness. It may well be believed that this regular bi-monthly contact of one agency with another—each setting out its functions and activities has developed an “all for one and one for all” spirit which is of unmeasured value. There has been no attempt made to “set the world afire” or to solve by this one relationship all the problems of social disorder. The council does give expression to the important idea of mass attack and there is a comfortable feeling that a spirit of unity of purpose is being warmed by this intimate contact and discussion.

## THE NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

NELL BATTLE LEWIS

WITH Thomas Mott Osborne, former warden of Sing Sing and famous penologist as its most sensational attraction among a number of noted speakers, the eleventh annual session of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service which was held in Raleigh January 24, 25 and 26 was remarkable for its large attendance and for the concreteness of its program. The conference limited its discussions almost exclusively to problems of child welfare and prison reform.

New officers elected at this session were: Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt, of Chapel Hill, president; M. E. Newsome, of Durham, first vice-president; Mrs. C. C. Hook, of Charlotte, second vice-president; Mrs. W. A. Newell, of Winson-Salem, third vice-president; and Gilbert Stephenson, of

Raleigh, treasurer. The conference went on record as favoring the employment of a full-time secretary, but the choice of this officer and the method of financing his expenses were left to the executive committee.

Resolutions were passed by the conference commending the policies of Governor Cameron Morrison in regard to social and educational progress in North Carolina and endorsing progressive social measures before the General Assembly of 1923, notably the Mother's Aid bill and prison reform legislation. The recommendations for prison legislation in North Carolina as formulated by the Committee on Policy and Program of the Citizens Committee of One Hundred were adopted by the conference with slight changes. Dr. J. F. Steiner, Professor of Social Technology

at the University of North Carolina, made the report for the committee as its chairman.

The gist of these important recommendations includes reorganization of the board of directors of the state prison, abolition of the ward for the dangerous insane there; establishment of a colony for tubercular prisoners; inauguration of a system of prison industries; establishment of a colony for women offenders; prohibition of flogging and confinement in dark cells; donation of power to the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare to enforce rules and regulations in regard to the treatment of county prisoners and to the maintenance of prescribed conditions in county jails; employment of matrons to be in charge of all women's wards; and abolition of the convict lease system in North Carolina.

A quartet of authorities on social work from other parts of the country addressed the conference: Thomas Mott Osborne, Dr. Hastings H. Hart, president of the American Prison Association; C. C. Carstens, director of the Child Welfare League of America; and Dr. Joseph Kinmont Hart, editor of the Education Department of *The Survey*. In addition to these authorities, a number of well-known North Carolinians spoke. In the absence of the president, A. M. Scales, due to illness, Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, Commissioner of Public Welfare, directed the conference.

To two eager audiences, a good part of which had to be contented with standing room only, Thomas Mott Osborne, impressive and picturesque, outlined his theory, backed by experience, that the prison is an effective social factor only in so far as confinement within its walls trains the prisoner for citizenship upon release. Mr. Osborne told a vivid human interest story, replete with personal anecdote, arresting not only because of the logic of the theory advanced, but chiefly because of its bulwark of fact. The point of view which Mr. Osborne presented was that of the prisoner, the man behind the bars, sitting in surly judgment upon the society which has condemned him. The speaker was introduced by Hon. Josephus Daniels under whom, during the World war, Mr. Osborne served as commandant of the Naval Prison at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

"It is Liberty alone that fits men for Liberty," declared Mr. Osborne, quoting Gladstone.

Neither severity nor force nor persuasion nor sentimentality and least of all reform per se has proven to be a successful deterrent for the criminal, he said. Retaliation and revenge are not only wicked in principle but dangerous in practice for they increase criminal impulses in a prisoner. The answer to the prison problem Mr. Osborne finds to lie in education of a peculiar kind, not primarily of the mind or body, though both of these, he said, are good, but education of the conscience, training in individual responsibility.

Mr. Osborne described the Mutual Welfare League which he established at Sing Sing and in the Naval Prison at Portsmouth and in which the prisoner learns of his proper relation to the community, and whose operation has proven to be one of the most striking and successful experiments ever attempted in prison reform. In the league the prisoner is trained to handle his own problems and to feel himself a part of the community with responsibilities of a citizen. Mr. Osborne contrasted the league with the honor system pointing out the advantage of the former in that here privileges are given not to single individuals but to the community as a whole and the individual shares these privileges only as he is a good citizen.

Because of the fundamental soundness of the idea of the Mutual Welfare League it may be adapted to any institution, Mr. Osborne said. With reference to improvement of prison conditions in North Carolina he declared that this was not a matter of legislation but wholly one of administration.

"You can improve conditions in your state prison whenever the head of your prison wishes it," he said.

Other aspects of the prison problem were treated by Dr. Hastings H. Hart, President of the American Prison Association, who addressed the conference on "The New Development of Prisons in the South." At the conclusion of his speech he was asked to give his opinion on capital punishment. Dr. Hart's answer was that, in his opinion, capital punishment should be abolished because of its futility. He stated that according to reliable records the abolition of capital punishment has not been followed by any notable increase in crime in the states which have taken this progressive step. Dr. Hart's speech proper

was necessarily a cursory sketch of prison conditions in the Southern states with brief description of the general tendency to improve these conditions. He congratulated North Carolina on its movement towards better prisons, especially commending the appointment of the Citizens Committee of One Hundred on Prison Legislation.

State Senator Charles U. Harris, another speaker on the prison problem, took for his subject "County Jails in North Carolina." He called attention to the fact that county jails in this state are, in the main, not used for the confinement of convicted persons but for that of men and women who are awaiting trial and who have not yet been proved guilty. Senator Harris declared that he found the spirit of humanitarianism to be on the increase in North Carolina as shown by the people's interest in all sorts of social work. The speaker advocated more power of enforcement of recommendations to be given to the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare.

An especially interesting contribution to the discussion of prison reform was made by W. H. Johnson, former superintendent of the Vance County Road Camp. In Vance county Mr. Johnson has succeeded in putting into effect much the same humanitarian and progressive principles relating to the treatment of prisoners as had been elaborated by Warden Osborne. He expressed the sum of these principles in what he said to his prisoners, "You are all trustees." Mr. Johnson told how under his administration a fit building had been erected to house the prisoners, the guarding was relaxed, severe punishments abolished, the fare improved, housing conditions made sanitary and, most important of all, the spirit changed from one of vindictiveness and harsh surveillance to one of friendliness and helpfulness.

Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, Commissioner of Public Welfare, opened the discussion on child welfare with a brief speech on this particular problem in North Carolina. During the thirteen months previous to the end of the last biennial period fifty per cent of the counties in the state reported 6,673 children handled by county superintendents of public welfare and judges of the juvenile court, according to the commissioner. This number did not include those handled

through institutions which would bring the total up to more than 10,000 dependent, delinquent and neglected children in North Carolina. Present facilities in this state are sadly inadequate for solving this problem, Mrs. Johnson said. Some of the remedies suggested by the commissioner were: Adequate child-caring institutions, whole-time superintendents of public welfare in every county, efficient juvenile court and probation service and the support of intelligent public opinion behind the child welfare program.

"The Juvenile Court and the Child" was the subject of an address by C. C. Carstens, director of the Child Welfare League of America. "The whole delinquency problem is at its foundation a juvenile problem," said Mr. Carstens, "and the juvenile court is the best expression of the public's interest in the child who is in danger of slipping into adult delinquency." Mr. Carstens outlined the distinguishing features of a real juvenile court as the idea of training rather than punishment, private hearings, attempts to secure the real facts that have led to the crime and recognition by the judge that his court is a part of the community's plan for saving the child. The proper equipment for such a court, he said, includes a particular kind of judge, a man with social consciousness; specialized probation service; medical and psychological service and other efficient complementary social machinery in the community. Important adjuncts to a properly conducted juvenile court, according to Mr. Carstens, are district detention homes, training schools for the difficult child and good child-placing agencies. When questioned as to his opinion in regard to the suggested reduction in the age limit of children coming under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court in North Carolina, Mr. Carstens stated that the tendency is towards raising this age rather than lowering it, and that he considered that reduction would be a serious step backward.

Dr. Joseph Kinmont Hart, editor of the Education Department of *The Survey*, speaking on "The Social Responsibility of Education," asserted that the whole community must be educated in order that it may be rendered capable of serious consideration of its problem and of intelligent attempt to solve them. Dr. Hart deplored the drift towards centralization in government in America and declared that "we are in



danger of developing a bureaucracy that will destroy the original spirit of the genius of our American institutions." He denounced "the fallacy that a part of the people can govern all of the people," and asserted that all of the people must govern themselves.

"We must get local social responsibility back into the local community," he said. "We must get our American life socialized back in the life of the people."

An experiment in community recreation unique in North Carolina, the Rockingham county playground, a tract of 125 acres, was described by J. H. Allen, superintendent of public welfare for Rockingham. H. D. Meyer, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, spoke to the conference on "Community Values in Play and Recreation." Mrs. Sydney P. Cooper, president of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, pledged the support of the united club women of the state to the social service program.

Previous to the formal opening of the conference, there was held the annual meeting of the North Carolina Association of Superintendents of Public Welfare and meetings of various groups of social workers.

## NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE, 1922

RICHARD W. WALLACE

THE TWENTY-THIRD New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections considered the following general topics: "Delinquency," "Health," "Recreation," "Rural Community Organization," "Children," and "The Family."

In the session devoted to Delinquency, Dr. William Healy, Director of the Judge Baker Foundation, of Boston, in his address on "The Practical Value of the Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquency," emphasized the need of a science of behavior as applied to the field of delinquency. Edward R. Cass, General Secretary of the New York Prison Association, and Secretary of the American Prison Congress, New York City presented a masterly review of the recent developments in the treatment of delinquents and of the needs in the management of correctional institutions in New York state.

In the sessions on Health, special emphasis

was given to the need for doctors in small towns and rural districts, and to the work of the Milbank Fund in its proposed community health work in certain localities in New York state.

A motion picture entitled "The Westchester Way" delineated the operations of the Grasslands Hospital as a health center. Both the picture and the hospital were voted a success.

"Rural Community Organization" was presented under the chairmanship of James T. Nicholson, Director of Educational Service, Washington division of the American Red Cross, and the subject "Recreation" from the standpoint of the institutions, the playground association, and rural community was ably handled under the chairmanship of Mr. R. K. Atkinson, of the Recreation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation.

In the session on "The Family," the topics discussed were: "Changing Ideals in Family Case Work," "What the Family Case Worker Should Know and Be," and "Is the American Family Disintegrating?"

The session on "Children" was devoted to a discussion of recent and needed child welfare legislation. The new children's court law was ably presented by Mr. Edward G. Griffin, Deputy Attorney General, and the need for further changes in the child welfare law, the law governing placing out, boarding-out, and adoption of children were discussed by practical workers in the care of dependent children.

The meetings were held in Chancellor's Hall in the State Education Building and were largely attended by local people, many of whom as well as the visiting delegates did not register. The total registration was approximately 400.

## THE IOWA STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

THE RECENT ANNUAL meeting of the Iowa State Conference of Social Work was pronounced by several to be the most helpful meeting to date. The opening session was under the auspices of the Committee on Administration of Public Poor Relief, formerly the Committee on Family Social Work. The program centered around the returns from a questionnaire sent out six months earlier. Replies pointed clearly to the primitive, antiquated methods still in use, and

drove home undesirable facts about the human and financial waste of the present system. The chairman of this session is secretary of the State Bar Association. The speakers included also a county supervisor from a county that years ago placed the administration of public relief in the hands of a social worker; a county attorney who is in constant quandaries because no family social worker is employed in his county; a district court judge, experienced in administering pensions; and a member of the State Board of Education, active in social work in her own county.

The secretary reported two items of vital interest to this committee. Within the preceding six months, Marshall and Montgomery counties have organized social service leagues, combining the administration of public and private relief throughout the counties and employing trained family social workers as executives. On invitation from the State Association of County Supervisors, the conference sent two speakers to the annual meeting of that association to present the advantages of employing trained social workers as administrators of public relief.

The second session of the conference was devoted to medical service. The secretary of the State Board of Health as chairman presided. The State Housing Commissioner discussed Iowa's housing law. The value of vital statistics and recent Iowa legislation regarding records next had attention. The state epidemiologist gave a practical, helpful paper on effective measures for the control of contagious diseases.

Social workers and teachers spent the next session together discussing common problems. A superintendent of schools and a social worker gave brief talks on *The School as a Factor in Social Work*.

The first evening session provided two treats. Honorable H. H. Seerly, President Iowa State Teachers College, formally welcomed the conference and addressed it on "The School's Contribution to Community Health." Dr. Frank E. Sampson, field agent of the State Medical Society, delivered the conference presidential address. Forcing home some ridiculous comparisons in county disbursements, Dr. Sampson challenged human intelligence and crystallized interest in an unprejudiced study of figures representing public expenditures.

The Committee on Illegitimacy and Adoption

evolved from its session a generally accepted agreement on the pressing need for standards in the work of child placing and supervision, and appointed a committee to list the standards in this field acceptable to the conference.

The Committee on State Institutions reported the approximate number of people that pass out annually from Iowa's various custodial and correctional institutions. A few pertinent questions arose relating to the maintenance of standards within the institutions, but the crux of interest centered in the question—"How are local communities equipped to salvage the work done in the institutions?" "What kind of follow-up care do local communities provide?"

The Committee on Coördination of Community Forces presented a serious study of the subject and offered a program so practical and helpful that a motion was made to have it printed in pamphlet form. This report considered not alone relationships between local organizations, but also between local organizations and state and national agencies.

At the legislative session the time was devoted largely to an explanation of the plan which Iowa has evolved for administration of the Shepherd-Towner law and a report of accomplishments to date.

A packed mass meeting addressed by Mr. Owen Lovejoy of New York city, closed the conference. The need of a federal child labor law met enthusiastic recognition in the large Sunday afternoon audience, and Mr. Lovejoy's clear presentation of the need stimulated widespread appreciation of him and his valuable work.

The story of the Iowa State Conference Social Work is hardly complete without mention of three additional facts.

First—Three district meetings of the conference were held during the year. These were well attended by interested individuals, the great majority of whom got their first clear ideas of organized social work at the meetings. Social workers were outnumbered a dozen to one at these district meetings.

The Iowa State Federation of Women's Clubs registered official support of a program providing at least one trained family social worker to every county by placing the subject on nine of its eleven annual district meetings in 1922.

The Iowa conference has a peculiar advantage.

The Extension Division of the State University employs a social worker and places her at the service of interested organizations and communities. She is traveling about the state most of the time and is therefore, in direct touch with the development and progress of social work in Iowa. This worker is secretary of the State Conference of Social Work. Her position amounts practically to a full time secretary, for the programs of the Extension Division of the university in the field of social welfare and the State Conference of Social Work have the same motives and identical objectives.

#### NOTES ON THE MASSACHUSETTS CONFERENCE

RICHARD K. CONANT

The Massachusetts Conference of Social Work was held at Greenfield, Massachusetts, November 13-15, 1922.

For the first time in its nineteen annual sessions the conference was held in a town rather than a city. Five hundred delegates registered and the sessions were all crowded ones. Three

new features made the conference a great success,—a county survey, a social clinic, and an evening devoted to the work of state departments.

The local committee had made a survey of social work in Franklin county, getting reports from each town in the county and scoring on a percentage basis. It was reported by local speakers.

At the social clinic difficult cases found by the local committee were presented by the chairman to a group of statewide experts in mental hygiene, relief, child care, health and recreation, who discussed the proper treatment and the underlying principles in each case.

The heads of five large state departments,—Mental Diseases, Correction, Education, Public Health and Public Welfare explained the social work of the state. Few citizens have had the chance to know about the extensive work of these five departments which spend over twenty million dollars annually in activities so numerous that they could barely be stated in a single evening.

Mrs. Eva Whiting White, acting director of the School of Social Work, Boston, was elected president of the conference for the coming year.

#### THE CHALLENGE OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED BOY

W. S. CRISWELL

**T**HE boy problem, like other human problems, exists in the country but becomes acute in the city. The well defined drift from the country to the city and town, therefore, is one of the basic reasons why the problem of juvenile delinquency has assumed greater proportions and demanded more attention within the last decade or two than in times previous. In 1900 there were five boys living in the country to every three boys living in the town or city. In 1910 there were as many living in the city or town as in the country. And in 1920, the city boys outnumbered the country boys at the ratio of practically 6 to 5. All of which is to say more people, including boys, are living in the city and town now than in the country—and the drift continues.

There has come into use recently the term "underprivileged boy." There have always been underprivileged boys, but we never realized it keenly enough to give them a class label until they

began over-running us in crowds and alley gangs in the city. In the country poverty is not so serious a matter. For one thing there is plenty of play space, the fields and the natural parks planted by nature—in a word the open doors.

When the farm boy steps out of his home his companions are the trees, the grass, lots of blue sky and the animals wild and domestic. His life may be monotonous but not iniquitous. At night he sees the stars rather than yellow street lights. In the city a boy slips out of a poor home, usually into a run-down street in a cheap district where there is a tendency for the wrecks of society and its depraved as well, to settle. There are also the alleys and the alley gangs.

Social stratification in the city is also much more marked. There are a few well-to-do people, Captains—or at least second Lieutenants—of Industry. There is a sprinkling of managers, executives and professional men fairly well paid.



There are a number of skilled workers and artisans. But most of the people work for wages and most of them do not get wages enough to raise a family in a decent neighborhood under the most conservatively computed standards of living. This economic pressure of the so-called "Iron Law of Wages" is largely responsible for the segregation and concentration of the "poor"—and, of course, the foreigners—into undesirable neighborhoods and congested tenements and flats. Home life is crowded both inside and out. It is difficult to conceive of an old-fashioned family circle, with apples, pop corn, and father reading to the children out of a family Bible, in a modern tenement home of three or four rooms filled with furniture and modern ideas.

There is not much that "pulls" in this sort of a home—but there are the movies and gangs and the street and alley games and the noisy, garish street life exerting a constant pull on the outside against any family circle or solidarity even if foolhardy parents of the old-fashioned type should attempt to establish one. The family, as one authority states it, has become "centrifugal rather than centripetal." That is why some wise Modern has dubbed the modern home of the poor a "filling station with overnight storage facilities." This same sacred keystone of civilization, the home, was also aptly described by a girl whom certain social agencies were trying to "adjust" as "a place full of chairs and kids"—no privacy, no room, no anything attractive. A very noticeable and natural thing about this modern type of the "poor home" at its worst, is the subordinate position of the parents—they receive, rather than give orders. Parental authority and obedience to parents—these things pass away along with the rattles and the baby clothes under the modern regime.

No people, no race, no civilization has ever solved the problem of living in the city. Babylon fell, Sodom and Gomorrah are names—the former chiefly remembered as the root word for unmentionable things. London has its hoodlums, Paris its apaches, New York its gunmen. When Josiah Strong entitled his book the "Challenge of the City" he expressed a reality. The city is a challenge to civilization either to be constructively met or to result in a "house of cards" collapse. With the shriveling up of home life there must come a development of outside agencies. If the

child is not to be trained or restrained in the home, if he is not to learn the lessons of responsibility and mutual dependence and respect for authority and the rights of others around the family fireside, then he must learn them elsewhere, from the playgrounds, the schools, the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., the Boy Scouts, the Boys' Clubs and the other agencies that make a bid to supplement home life and hold the ground forever lost by that institution.

The underprivileged boy, to get back to our text, is the boy from the home that is inadequate to his needs—the place where he sleeps and eats. He is the street boy, the delinquent, the truant, the criminal to be. He is the boy unconnected with the church, the Sunday School or any other good agency and he is estimated to be two-thirds of our boy population. He is usually hard to do anything with, but he is a challenge to all of us who hang out a shingle as boys' workers. Not all of them go wrong by any means—in some miraculous way the majority grow up like Topsy, and do pretty well anyway. But it is well to remember, lest we depend on miracles too much, that fully half the criminals, running all the way from petty misdemeanants to first degree murderers, are twenty and under.

There has been considerable bruited abroad of the so-called "Youth Movement" which is made in Germany. Well, we have a youth movement of our own, and if we are not careful, when it grows up it will have whiskers and call itself Bolshevism. All the foregoing has been rather negative and pessimistic. I believe the many agencies that have sprung up can at least hold the fort and maybe gain some ground, but the forces must be doubled or trebled and maybe more. There must be a closer liaison between agencies, more discipline, training and spiritual emphasis and many, many more privates. I think we have generals enough to last the next ten years. And there must be prophets of eloquence with vision, facts and statistics to tell the people the drift of things, the way out, and reconcile them to the price they will have to pay to make the saving. I don't think much of social paternalism or communism, but it looks like we will have to accept a small measure of them to avert worse things.

If one computes the number of underprivileged boys in the United States it is appalling; for the

state, it is startling; for the city impressive; for the neighborhood it is not so bad after all. It is the neighborhood, in the last analysis, that is the front trench of the social battle for better things. There it is a hand-to-hand conflict with the fate of souls and citizens hanging in the balance. Looked at in this light it is not so discouraging because in the worst neighborhood there are many good people, and just outside, standing on tiptoe, are the various agencies, anxious to "do something."

The strategic period of the fight is narrowed down still further. A boy does not go wrong while in school. Neither does he go wrong while at work. The demoralization comes when he is on his own time—when he is having a good time. Show me a boy's pastimes and companions and I will read that boy's future. The leisure time—

of which we have lately heard much—is the critical time. So the real fight simmers down to three or four hours between the end of supper and the bedtime hour.

If we can sprinkle attractive Boys' Clubs, Scout Troops, Settlements and other leisure time agencies about, with attractive programs and devoted leadership; and then couple these up with the churches, schools and other forces that pull upward, why we can cut off 75 per cent of the juvenile delinquency of this country. This is not a visionary statement nor a hypothetical conclusion. In the 11th Ward of Chicago—known as the Murder Ward—a single Boys' Club, under competent leadership, at the cost of about \$30,000 reduced juvenile delinquency 75 per cent in that rotten neighborhood in one year. So it can be done.

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The Southern Regional Child Welfare Conference will meet in Atlanta on March 13th and 14th with the Southern State Departments of Public Welfare. Meeting at the same time will also be the Georgia Council of Social Agencies, the Georgia Association of Family Service Agencies, the Georgia Association of Children's Institutions, the Georgia Juvenile Courts and Probation Officers, and the Georgia Children's Code Commission. In addition to the discussion of problems common to all, a number of special projects will be discussed.

## The Church and Social Service

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE SOCIAL HOPE\*

WILLIAM L. POTEAT

LIFE is a complex of personal relationships, and the problem which comprehends all other human problems is the problem of living together in harmony and mutual helpfulness. Here are old and young, rich and poor, vigorous and feeble, cultured and ignorant, native and alien, male and female, white and black, good and bad. There are not wanting indications that the problem has lately become acute. There are more people than ever before, they move about faster, and bump into one another oftener. After the subordination of racial, national, class, and personal interests in the grand merger of the World War, do we not see the revival of the old antagonisms? Does not every morning's paper bear depressing testimony to the drawing apart of England and France, upon whose accord the peace of Europe depends? After the comradeship of heroism in the trenches of Flanders, is it going to be possible again to define a true Englishman, in the words of Lord Nelson, as one who hates a Frenchman like the devil? And there are still a hundred lynchings a year. Nine-tenths of them occur in the South, and in four-fifths of them the victims are negroes. What of labor and capital? Curiously enough "Labor" has a way of not laboring, and that without overmuch concern about consequences. And capital—has there been no talk of breaking the back of labor unionism? The freedom of the sexes allowed in war times, has it settled back into the discreet intercourse of the earlier period, or lapsed into a license which portends social tragedy? And the fighting spirit which we took such pains to develop in our young men for the winning of the war holds over in peace times and adds to our pre-war preëminence in crime a record of violence which is full of alarm. A single city of our country has more homicides a

year than the whole of England and Wales. In short, we are witnessing a sort of frenzy of insubordination and crime. The unity of civilization itself is menaced by the forces of disunion and anarchy. Our civilization, says Mr. Wells, is tumbling down, tumbling down fast.

#### TREATMENT

In reading the symptoms of our social malady there is general agreement. There is wide disagreement in the treatment proposed. One remedy is socialism, or the communal ownership of land and capital and the instruments and machinery of production. But socialism makes two capital blunders. In the first place, it proceeds on the assumption that society is a mechanism, and if it is found not to function properly, all that is needed is to shake the bundle of injustices and inequalities to pieces, and then put it together right by act of legislature, brutally to rights, if necessary. On the contrary, we know that society is an organism, and its features and activities are the result of a vital growth. Shaking it to pieces means its death. A more serious blunder of socialism is this, it ignores the root of moral evil out of which all social wrongs spring. We conclude that there is no hope in socialism.

Prussianism, or the rule of might, has been offered as a method to settle antagonistic interests. The strong ought to rule the weak, and war is the final test of strength. If persons, classes, or nations disagree, let them fight it out, and let the strong hold by right what they win by might. And we shall have peace—the peace of slavery! But I seem to recall that Prussianism received something of a shock in November

\* This is the substance of President Poteat's remarkable message to the North Carolina Baptist Convention, a tribute to which was found in the generous yielding of all his fundamentalist critics.



on the eleventh day in the year nineteen eighteen!

Many agree with H. G. Wells, who finds our social salvation and security in education. Plain truth, he says in "The Salvaging of Civilization," will clear up all our difficulties. The world educated up to a pitch of understanding and co-operation not reached heretofore—that is the key to all social disorders. In other words, modern life is a race between education and catastrophe. And this saving education is within our power, that is, if we have the purpose, given the will. Exactly! But who can guarantee the will? To know what is right is one thing; to do what is right is quite another thing. And when Bertrand Russell declares that the scientific temper is capable of regenerating mankind, we recognize in the proposal the same fatal absence of the moral dynamic. No, no. None of these. It is

#### ANARCHY OR CHRIST

Christ is the physician of souls, therefore of society. I make no apology to any group of gentlemen anywhere, anywhen, for finding in Christ the hope of social redemption and the law of social progress. Did He not say in the days of His flesh, "My words shall not pass away?" I remind you of the judgment of the distinguished biologist and psychologist of England who declared that no word uttered by Jesus had been discounted by all the progress of knowledge since His day. His teaching has the quality of perpetual contemporaneity. We shall never get beyond Him, for our progress is conditioned upon our following Him. He inaugurated the greatest social movement of all time, the Kingdom of God. Wherever He appears on the plain of history He speaks the word of emancipation. That which distinguishes Western civilization is directly traceable to "that fund of altruism with which He equipped it in its cradle." The public conscience which forced the warring nations to shift to other shoulders the crime and havoc of the World War—England said "It was not I, it was Germany." And Germany insisted it was not she, but England and France. And Russia said, "Not I." And France, "I had to protect myself against destruction. No, I didn't bring it on"—here was something new in the field of statesmanship. Hitherto war was the legitimate pastime of nations. It required no justification. Who set up this high moral standard to which

all enlightened nations at length appealed? Who but Christ? Moreover, the chief items in the inventory of our social progress are His gifts to mankind.

#### THE METHOD OF CHRIST

The French priest, Lammenais, was criticized at Rome for erroneous political opinions, but he laid his finger on the secret of Jesus when he said, "All that Christ asked of mankind wherewith to save them was a cross whereon to die." The cross is the central fact toward which all previous history converges, from which all subsequent history diverges with a crimson tinge forever. Redemption is there, or it is nowhere, individual redemption and social redemption. Christ crucified works in the individual life a revolution so universal and so radical that there is no describing it save in His own immortal figure, the new birth.

And He will transform society by transforming its constituent units. What we require is not a new system of government, a new scheme for the distribution of wealth, a new social organization. What we require is new people. And I know of no way to make new people except Christ's way. I have read in Paul about new creatures in Christ Jesus. Out of the glory of the Cross, tempered to our weak apprehension by the compassion which sought us beyond the gates of death, He shouts to us through the brightening centuries, "Follow me." He came to the leadership of the Kingdom by the way of the Cross. That way lies our path. In other words, the law of His life is the law of our life, the law of love and renunciation.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND ENLIGHTENMENT

Our deepest need is to be good: after that, to be intelligent. There is no way to be good but Christ's way. We are made for God and find no rest until we rest in Him, in harmony with His will. This hunger for God is matched by the hardly less noble hunger for truth. What the world needs now as always is the completer mating of goodness and intelligence. Now, thank God, there is no law against this marriage. Science can say nothing against it. In spite of the past century's record of marvelous achievements, science stands confessedly bankrupt before the central mysteries of nature and life.

Ask your chemist, for example, why the element carbon and the element oxygen come together and produce a substance, carbonic acid gas, unlike its two constituents. He will answer, chemical affinity. But what is chemical affinity? He will answer, "I do not know." Your beaming biologist can hardly be induced to look up from his microscope, but you may ask him what he is watching. He will answer, Protoplasm. But what is that? He will answer, "It is the physical basis of life." But what is life? First and last, he will admit that he does not know. Ask the professor of physics what light is. He will say with complacency and assurance light is vibrations of the ether of a certain amplitude. But what is ether and what makes it vibrate? He will not be able to get beyond the famous definition of Lord Salisbury, who was not only Prime Minister of Great Britain, but at one time president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. "Ether," said he, "ether is the nominative case of the verb to undulate." Your psychologist is a man of nimble wit, and it may be difficult to corner him with any definite question. With adequate industry, however, you may be able to put your question, What is thought? He is given to great swelling words about the nerve process and the thought process, their parallelism and their interdependence, but at last you will force him to admit that he does not know. And there is personality. It is a fact of nature and a matter for scientific investigation. But science cannot explain Paul, who swept across the Roman Empire like a beneficent flame, or St. Francis, or Plato, or Shakespeare. And these several inquiries are precisely the ones about which we are concerned, the central mysteries, before which science stands in a helpless impotence. Manifestly science cannot discredit faith. Its symbols, according to Clerk Maxwell, are the balance, the footrule, and the clock. The deeper things of life are beyond their reach. The method and apparatus of science are inapplicable. The distinguished biologist and interpreter of Darwin, George Romanes, in his early life, wrote an essay on theism in which he dealt with the question of the existence of God by rigorous rational processes. He reached sadly a whole negative conclusion. And yet, in the very presence of this deliverance of his reason, his heart cried out after God. Before his death

he came to see that the deliverances of our moral and spiritual faculties are in their proper sphere just as legitimate and reliable as the deliverances of the reason are in its proper sphere. He died in full communion with the church of Jesus Christ.

And certainly Christianity can say nothing against the marriage of goodness and enlightenment. It demands it. It is the secret of goodness, and enlightenment is its instrument. There are two forms of infidelity which I am afraid even the Infinite Mercy will find it difficult to forgive. One is the fear lest the truth be bad; the fear that the Spirit of truth will not guide us into all the truth, will not glorify Christ as the theme, origin, and end of all truth. Christ said Himself, I am the Truth. Welcome Truth. Lay hold upon her. She is your life. And do not stop to calculate the adjustment and revision her fresh coming will necessitate. Welcome her, and the old truth, after the method of all life, will organize itself about the new revelation. For Truth is sovereign. She comes from God and bears His message, from whatever quarter her great eyes may look down upon you. Out of the starry deeps, illimitable and radiant, she comes to say, "The heavens declare the glory of God." Out of the museum of the æons, where on stony pages aspiring life records her defeats and her successes, she comes to say, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, the herb yielding seed, the beast of the earth after its kind, and of the dust of the ground man in His own image." Out of far climes and dim days, through the blunders and sins and tragedies of history down to the blind jeopardies of the last wild game of war, she comes to say, "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will." Out of the laboratories of the world, where keen eyes and skilled fingers pick reverently a little path of light into the mystery which envelops our life, she comes to say, "The invisible things of God are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity."

A second form of infidelity and lapse of loyalty which makes heavy demands upon the Infinite Grace is doubt of the ultimate triumph of God's purpose of redemption in Christ, the fear that Christ will see of the travail of His soul,

and not be satisfied. No, no. By the burdens He has lifted, by the doors He has opened, by the fetters He has broken, by the rising levels of life wherever He has walked among men, by the hopes which He kindled in His own dark time brightening through the centuries to this august hour, His dream is coming true. Do you

not see already the kings and the nations bringing their glory unto Him? In moments of a lofty clairvoyance do we not hear what must be the great voices in Heaven singing, "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ; and He shall reign forever and ever"?

## THE SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAM OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

EDWIN A. PENICK

**W**HILE I have no authority to speak for the Social Service Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, yet I venture to entertain the thought that the private and unofficial opinions herein expressed are fairly representative of a substantial majority of Episcopal Clergy and the laity.

The objective of the church is the establishment of the Kingdom of God. This means the extension of the more abundant life, with all its liberating principles, into every department of human association and activity. Such an ideal accomplishment is necessarily slow because it waits upon the individual whose conscience must first be fashioned with the pure moral qualities of serviceable personality. As the conscience becomes more and more aware of its community obligations, it pushes its conquest for character into the unprivileged spheres of society. It pledges itself to abolish the crippling conditions that environ and suppress whole classes of people. It looks for the creation of an ideal fellowship in which such unifying virtues as love and justice and righteousness shall issue in corporate satisfaction and redemption. It depends for its energy upon the will of God which is the spirit of love.

The social program of the Episcopal Church is putting a new construction upon the Second Commandment of the Law. It is widening the idea of "neighbor" to embrace all classes of needy people. It is re-interpreting the doctrine of salvation in terms of corporate life. For the individual to be mindful only of the happy issues of his own life is coming under suspicion, as contrary to, or at least, as limiting the social implications of the Gospel. Where the church

heretofore has stood aloof from industry, recreation, politics and international relationships, it is now coming to regard these "secular" spheres as a proper and necessary field for the wider application of its redemptive religion.

Reporting at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Portland, Oregon, last fall, the National Social Service Commission, now two years old, submitted a program which touches the community life of American people at many vital points.

First, it reaffirmed the declaration of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 that:

"Fellowship is the only hope and salvation of a world of broken relationships and mutually warring self-interests.

"A. Fellowship among Christians of every name is the only basis for an effective organized Christianity.

"B. Fellowship among nations is the only security for permanent world peace.

"C. Fellowship in industry is the only foundation for economic prosperity and social well being."<sup>1</sup>

With the enumeration of the Christian principles which should underlie any industrial system, the same report continued:

"1. Human rights must take precedence of property rights. Therefore a minimum subsistence wage, and if possible, a comfort and saving wage must be the first charge on the industry, and the public as well as employers must be willing to pay respectively their proportionate shares of this charge.

"2. Coöperation for the common service must

<sup>1</sup> Social Service at the General Convention of 1922. Page 5.



be substituted for the present competition for private advantage as the paramount motive and end of all industry. This principle requires immediately (a) from capital, honest goods and services for fair prices, and (b) from labor, honest work and full service for fair wages. Ultimately it involves 'a fundamental change in the spirit and working of a whole industrial system.'

"3. The worker who invests his life and that of his family in industry must have, along with the capitalist who invests his money, some voice in the control of the industry which determines the conditions of his working and living. There must be established a sane and reasonable measure of democracy in industry. The worker of today is rightly seeking self-expression and self-determination in industry, as well as a livelihood from industry.

"4. The right of labor, equally with capital to effective organization and the corresponding responsibility on both sides for the exercise of the power so attained, in strict accordance with the moral law as serving this common good. Negotiation through collective bargaining must take the place of the ruinous strife of strikes."<sup>2</sup>

Vigorous resolutions were passed by the General Convention on "World Peace," "Freedom of Speech," "The Prohibition Amendment," "Mock Marriages," as evidencing a disregard for the sanctity of Holy Wedlock, "Narcotic Drugs," "Mob Violence," "The Care for Disabled Soldiers." A commission was appointed to study the question of moving pictures in connection with their educational and social influence.

The wide-ranging resolutions embodied in the first report of this new commission, as well as the convention addresses which reflected a similar spirit of comprehensiveness, indicate the reach of the church's vision in the application of Christian social principles.

In the South this vision is confronted with serious sectional problems demanding solution.

1. First in importance, doubtless, is "The Negro Question." Provision for meeting the needs of a people who constitute one-tenth of the population of the United States was made in February 1906 by the creation of the American Church Institute for Negroes. This organization includes a group of eleven industrial schools

and one divinity school, located in different southern dioceses with the express purpose of training leaders for the negro race. It is planned to increase the number of these training centers until every Episcopal diocese in the South shall be equipped to prepare its intelligent young negro men and women for the responsibilities of citizenship and industrial life.

2. The social forces of the church are also being concentrated on the solution of the problems rising out of the rapidly growing manufacturing communities. The development of the textile business, especially in the Piedmont section of the Carolinas and Georgia, is taxing the resourcefulness of socially-minded churchmen. In many notable instances it is found that the mill managers have made extensive provision for the physical and educational welfare of the operatives. Elaborate school systems, community hospitals, parks and play-grounds with supervised recreation, boy and girl scout troops, sewing and domestic science clubs for girls and women, and men's organizations of many wholesome types have not only furnished an economic asset to the mills in stabilizing labor, heretofore of a migratory disposition, but have also afforded an effective means for training in citizenship. From the standpoint of the church, however, these highly valuable forms of scientific philanthropy are not sufficient. Every industrial problem is at heart a religious or a moral problem, and for this reason humanitarian enterprises, no matter how generously they may be furnished by the mills, must be supplemented by the religious activities of the church. With this idea in mind, many southern dioceses are attempting to meet the industrial problem by aggressive programs of church extension with an emphasis upon moral and spiritual values.

3. Despite this expansion of the textile business, however, agriculture is still the prevailing occupation of the South. This situation challenges the resources of the rural church. The average tenant farmer is not a highly privileged person. To him the church is seeking to minister through chains of mission stations where isolated individuals are taught the common relationships of life by programs of information and recreation (including a judicious use of moving pictures), fellowship and worship.

The underlying motive of all these social enter-

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Pages 5 and 6.

prises is to environ different classes of people with Christian ideals, to create in them a spirit of interdependence as members of one human family and a common dependence upon Christ in whom alone all men can be united "in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life."

In urban parishes where none of these three

major problems is paramount, the social conscience of church people now finds expression in supplying the needs of such institutions as Orphanages, Farms for Delinquent Boys, Girls' Friendly Societies for city wage earners, Old Ladies' Homes and the Seamen's Institute for Sailors in port towns.

## Inter-Racial Coöperation

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND AND EDUCATIONAL ADAPTATION

W. CARSON RYAN, JR.

**T**HEORIES of educational adaptation are sufficiently common, but efforts to apply them on a large scale are rare indeed. It is this that makes the work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, particularly in its most recent enterprise, an educational survey of West, South, and Equatorial Africa, of special interest to students of social forces.<sup>1</sup>

Many educational surveys of recent years have recognized the social basis of education, and some have endeavored to act upon the recognition. The United State Bureau of Education survey reports of North Dakota and other states start with a careful statement of human and material resources as a prelude to a discussion of the kind and amount of education. The same may be said of the Cleveland survey volumes, especially those having to do with wage-earning and education. Dr. Harold Foght's survey of Saskatchewan analyzes most carefully the agricultural and other factors that enter into the life of this western Canadian province as a basis for educational provision. In practice, however, most of the surveyors fail to go beyond the blueprinting stage; social and economic considerations are likely to be lost sight of when it comes to the setting up of an educational program. Of necessity comparatively few of those who have served on the staffs of educational surveys have had a social viewpoint, and still fewer have been able to get a social viewpoint over into the recommendations; while the instances of the

actual employment of sociologists and social workers in school surveys are rare.

The most conspicuous examples of educational adaptation in America have been where teachers or other workers with a newer viewpoint have been temporarily removed from the old environment—missionaries and teachers at Hampton and among the Indians; American teachers in the Philippines, faced with the necessity of transforming the "little red apple" of American textbooks into something more real to Filipino boys and girls; Jeanes Fund supervisors in the South, renewing the all-but-forgotten contact between the rural school and the life of the community; school counselors under the White-Williams Foundation in Philadelphia working patiently back into the child's home environment to throw light on the best way of educating the whole child for a useful and worthy life; farm demonstration agents and club workers in the South building up an agricultural education that leads to economic freedom, or a distinguished reclamation engineer turning aside from his profession long enough to experiment with a new type of higher education at Antioch.

In the African education report, however, not only is the economic and social note sounded at the very beginning and sustained throughout; but the attempt is made to apply the philosophy of educational adaptation beyond a single phase or type of education to the larger part of a great continent and to many millions of men and women.

#### "ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND"

Unlike most educational survey commissions, accordingly, the Africa commission sets forth in details as the major portion of its report the social and economic possibilities of Africa and

<sup>1</sup>The work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in inter-racial co-operation and in other fields has already been described for readers of THE JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES by Mr. Isaac Fisher in the January issue. Another excellent brief summary of the work of the Fund is in the *Bulletin* of the United States Bureau of Education, 1922, No. 38, "Educational Boards and Foundations," by Dr. Henry R. Evans. The report of the African Education Commission, which has been freely used in the preparation of the present article, is published by the Fund, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City.



the various colonies visited. Africa is depicted as a treasure-house of material and human resources which will need all available efforts of its own people and people from the rest of the world if it is to play the part in future history it should; the healthfulness of life in the African colonies is defended against the aspersions usually cast upon it; the improvability of the African native is examined and attested, and his right to active participation and leadership in all that concerns Africa is insisted upon; and the point is made that any program of education for Africa must be based, not upon preconceived notions or types of schooling transmitted unmodified from Europe or America, but upon the actual conditions as revealed and the fundamental needs that grow out of them. A similar procedure is followed in the report for every colony. The commission visited and reported upon six colonies—Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, British South Africa, Angola, Belgian Congo—and the Republic of Liberia. The report in each case includes a full statement of the "Economic and Sociological Background," followed by a section dealing with education, existing or to be supplied, as related to that background, and appropriate recommendations.

It is easy to see why some of the school people in Africa and elsewhere are quite mystified by this educational survey. For page after page of the report of the commission there is no mention of education as such—only an abundance of pertinent facts about the people, the diversity of tribes and languages, the products, the climate, the work of European organizations in the colony, the government, and the efforts at coöperative relationships. On the other hand, it is only fair to say that through this very emphasis upon economic and social considerations, usually overlooked by traditional schools, statesmen and others hitherto little interested in education have been brought to see the fundamental necessity of providing education on a broad scale and relating that education to the ascertained needs of the people.

There will always be those who will suspect the motives of advocates of educational adaptation, and doubtless with some reason. Yet failure to apply the principles honestly is a fundamental and costly mistake. It was the same mis-

take that New England made, in all sincerity, in providing education of the conventional type for the negroes of the South just after the emancipation. As Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes puts it in his introduction to the African report:

"For the many, as distinct from the few, the results were small in comparison with those that came later based on General Armstrong's vital work at Tampton, where education was adapted directly to a people's need. Here there was real education—the drawing out of the latent powers of the negro, and fitting him for the hard task of living an upright, useful, and economically productive life. Agricultural or industrial training, under Christian auspices, proved to be the best type of education for the majority of the freedmen, at this particular time in their development, although the door always was and always should be kept wide open for a higher education."

Speaking in highest terms of what has been done through education in parts of Africa, and citing many instances of Africans who have made conspicuous use of the conventional educational opportunity, Dr. Jones nevertheless insists that in Africa similarly a wise adaptation of education would have very greatly improved the results. As elsewhere in the world, so in Africa "there has been an over-supply of school graduates who are prepared to write and talk, and an under-supply of those who can till the soil and engage in the great and numerous mechanical operations of the country and share in the social improvement required by the masses of the people."

#### AGRICULTURE, HEALTH, HANDICRAFTS

Agriculture and health are the two great neglected factors in efforts for education in Africa. "It has been a surprise," says Dr. Jones in the report, "that so few Europeans or Africans have realized that the most fundamental demand vocationally is for training to develop the soil possibilities of the great African continent. It seems obvious that the future of all organizations in Africa depends more upon the effective use of the soil than upon any other of the numerous resources of the continent. It has been equally a surprise that so few Europeans and Africans have recognized the fundamental importance of instruction in health and sanitation. Neglect of this phase of education seems inexplicable. It is probably the most convincing indication of the extent to which the adaptation of education is

neglected." The commission accordingly recommends the teaching of hygiene and sanitation throughout all the grades and in all types of schools; a practical demonstration of the laws of health in the school plant itself; preparation of teachers in health and hygiene; special training of health workers, including visiting nurses and medical assistants, and the establishment of medical schools for natives.

As for agriculture, "the overwhelming majority of the Africans must live on and by the soil, but the schools make very little provision for training in this important element for life." The commission would have every school "provide such instruction in gardening as is necessary to develop skill in the cultivation of the soil and appreciation of the soil as one of the great resources of the world." It insists that study of the soil shall rank with the most important subjects of the curriculum, and that the practical field work in gardening shall be regarded as "part of the educational system and not demanded as the necessary drudgery of the institution." Special courses in gardening are set up as a necessity for all teachers who are to teach in elementary schools.

Next to agriculture the commission places as the most important activities for education the "simple handicrafts required in the kraals and villages." Every teacher is to be taught the special forms of hand skill required for his community, not merely for economic ends, but because of the necessity of hand training for all. "The primary handicraft needs of the natives of Africa are those that will prepare every teacher and native worker to go out into the little villages and teach the natives how to make better use of the wood, clay, cane, hides, iron or other products which may be discovered in sufficient quantities to be useful." Preparation for home life and for recreation, recognition of the language rights of the natives and of the need of a medium of intertribal communication, adaptation of the conventional school subjects to the needs of the environment, and the use of the movable school, farm demonstration, and other devices that have proved valuable in American efforts at educational adaptation, are also stressed by the commission.

#### WILL THE PROGRAM BE ADOPTED?

It is clear that any educational program so deeply rooted in ordinary social needs will not be adopted without a struggle. Some of the natives will oppose it, just as some of the negroes in America oppose it, because of the fear that what is being set up is inferior to the education provided others. The only honest way to answer this objection, whether in America or Africa, is to apply the principle of educational adaptation to all, without distinction. Some African school men will oppose the program of the commission, in part from sympathy with the viewpoint above expressed, in part from sheer inertia. The more progressive school men will welcome it, seeing in it the hope of education, not only for Africa, but for the world. Already, as indicated, statesmen and others usually but little interested in education have been won by it to a belief in education on a large scale. T. Harold Barnes, the African explorer, has put on record a vigorous approval of the educational program of the commission as meeting the need he saw in Africa. Many of the government and mission school workers have been far more favorable to the commission's recommendations than was at first anticipated. The principal of one of the mission schools in the territory visited wrote recently to the chairman of the commission:

"You have many converts to your cry of 'adaptation.' We may not go at once as far as you wish us to. We educationists are intensely conservative and we necessarily move slowly. On the other hand, you shook us up, you made us think, and though at first we were wrestling, I feel all the same that we are making the ideals you held up to our gaze increasingly our own. In our own school our study of history has become a study of the growth and development of the British Empire with Crown Colony and West Africa emphasis—replacing the detailed study of the History of England; our study of geography is of the world with West Africa the home center instead of the British Isles. We give physiology and hygiene a much larger place in our curriculum and hope to introduce the study of physical or chemical science at an early date, though this may have to put out our beloved Latin in order to find room for itself. . . . As a mission, we shall seek more and more to coöperate with the government in making such advance as we can toward making education as real a thing as possible."

## FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION.\*

HOWARD W. ODUM

### GENERAL PRINCIPLES INVOLVED

THE considerations of this conference of North Carolina, called by the Governor, as well as subsequent proceedings, will be based upon certain fundamental principles easily stated and clearly recognized as necessary to the permanent success of any state program. It should be remembered, however, that the statements here presented are tentative and not complete.

*The Public Good:* The first principle is that of the welfare of all the people, brought about by a participating, sharing, coöperative effort of both races in which shall be recognized alike a joint responsibility, a joint obligation, and a joint opportunity for high serving and plain working. Such a joint obligation, however, does not exempt either race from its own individual and personal responsibility. Permanent progress in better race relationships and permanent well being in all aspects of North Carolina life will scarcely be found otherwise.

*Strong and Good Leadership:* The second principle to be stated is that of a sane leadership by the many strong and good leaders rather than an unwise leadership by the few weak and unwise leaders, of both races. It is critically important at this time that the strong and good leaders of the negro race, and the great mass of negro citizens as well, should be accorded such consideration at the hands of the strong and good leaders of the white race, and the great mass of sound-hearted white citizens as well, that they will follow, rather the constructive leadership of both races, than the destructive leadership of any group. We have already seen too many tragedies as a result of unwise and unsound leadership.

*Problems of Statesmanship:* The third principle to be stated is the clear recognition that problems of race relations in North Carolina, are very real and very difficult problems. Race problems have always been and will always be very real and very difficult. They cannot be solved by sentimentality nor by superficial ideas and make-shift efforts not based upon organic

principles. Neither can they be worked out by being ignored and let alone. Recognition by both races, squarely and frankly, of the difficulties involved, of the permanence of separate race relationships, and of the mutually beneficial opportunities for justice and progress, for all the people of both races, will constitute a sound basis for statesmanlike consideration.

*Analysis and Approach:* The fourth principle to be stated is found in the recognition of the need for methods and avenues of approach and contact that are permanent, definite, complete and fundamental. It must be very clear that problems of race relations and the public good, if they are to be worked out by strong and good leadership in a statesmanlike manner, must be analyzed with clearness and approached through effective avenues of institutional, united and organized forces. The same avenues which will bring about happiness and progress for the white people of this state may be counted on to become effective for the negro population also. Permanence, too, in all aspects of the public good must be kept in mind. Weakness on the part of one race, temporarily even, in the fundamental aspects of life and labor will bring harm to members of the other; while strength in whatever aspect of life in the one race will contribute strength to all the people. Completeness, therefore, also is important, both in making the necessary analysis of the tasks ahead, and in choosing the avenues of approach and the programs of work. What, therefore, are the permanent, complete, definite and fundamental aspects of our life which will serve best as a center around which and from which a program of public welfare for the negro race may be built? and similarly a program of public welfare for the white race? and therefore, for all the people?

### THE WORK AHEAD

It is quite doubtful whether there can be found any better division of life and society about us, by which complete classification of tasks, needs,

\* This statement was presented and adopted as the general basis upon which the North Carolina Inter-racial Conference should plan its program.



and problems may be analyzed, or by which programs of action may be based, than that of the fundamental institutions through which progress has been and is now being achieved in North Carolina and the nation. These institutions are: *the home and family; the church and religion; the school and education; the state, government, and laws; industry and work; community and association.* And to the aid of these great institutional modes of life and progress, shall we not call the integrity and social-mindedness of the *individual citizen*, the devoted service of the *teacher, preacher, and social worker*, and the effectiveness and loyalty of the *press*?

*The Home and Family; Housing Conditions and Health; Standards of Living:* Without adequate housing conditions, good health, and good surroundings in the home, neither the individual nor the race will go forward as is becoming this day and generation. Progress in the important aspects of individual and community life and of race relations will scarcely be achieved over the barriers of disease, poor health, wrong living conditions, insanitary surroundings, immorality, death. Happiness and success are dependent upon health, housing, homes. Good homes for whites and good homes for the negroes are closely related, just as are bad housing for the negroes and health conditions and homes for the whites inseparably connected. We have never measured the untold waste, social and economic loss, suffering and inefficiency that come from improper home and housing conditions and from health. Nor is this a problem for one race. In the considerable number of studies that have been made, conditions of housing and health have been found to be not a problem of one race, but of two. There is a divided responsibility; but there is perhaps more of a joint responsibility. It will take the best efforts of both races in the promotion of more knowledge, more care and conscience, more plans and better programs of action, and more fidelity in standing by and carrying on the common problems of the public good. It is not sufficient for one race to say to another, in substance: "Here, this is your job; attend to these housing conditions; here, this is your problem, give us better health." But rather, for all people, working together, with high standards and respect for personality of individuals and for the

welfare of the community, to bring about the desired results.

*The School and Education:* The North Carolina school program for the negro makes much progress. It will make much more progress if members and communities of both races will cooperate fully in carrying out its plans and making effective its programs. There can be no good in ignorance and its accompanying results of shiftlessness, disease, crime, backwardness. It will be difficult to develop an integrity of race consciousness or a stability of type when part of the race is being schooled and part is not. It will be difficult to lead a race on toward progress in the fields of an industrial and agricultural need, without education and equipment which will make for standard work and achievement. It will be difficult to teach the negro population well without a willingness on the part of both races to see that better teachers are provided, that more supervision is extended; and that better equipment is secured and maintained intact and in good condition. It will be difficult to develop a race of strong, clean minded and clean bodied people unless health instruction and health practice shall be promoted in the school and in extension education. It will be difficult to promote ideals of thrift, of honor, of morality and of high stands of living unless the school, through its proper organization and application, shall promote these virtues continuously and consistently in accordance with high standards of race integrity and pride. And with pride of race comes also the obligation of patriotism—pride of state and community,—and allegiance to the fundamental principles of service. And in all this program what will the institutions of higher learning do toward providing leadership and toward the promotion of right public opinion?

*What Will the Churches Do?* The whole program of better race relationship and welfare is presumably based upon the principles and practices of Christianity. What will the churches do to carry this program further than heretofore carried? What will the white churches do to promote the Christian spirit of charity and tolerance and of hopefulness and of justice? What will the negro churches do toward making for a more vital and active Christianity, a clearer understanding of the problems of race relation-

ships, and of social welfare; a saner and more intelligent patience and earnestness? What will the Sunday schools do toward teaching the principles and practices of Christianity to the younger, as well as to the older members? To what extent will the ministers of the churches coöperate in bringing about more knowledge and better relationships? To what extent will the ministers, well trained and willing to serve, become the leaders of the new day? To what extent will the churches, sometimes feeling their loss of influence or their grasp of problems, seize this biggest of opportunities to revitalize the spirit of Christian service? What more difficult, yet more promising field has ever been white for the harvests?

*Government and Laws:* One of the great tests of government is its ability to render service, administer justice, promote the welfare of its people. Another test is its ability and facility to make and enforce good laws. But the government is not something apart from the people, but government is of, for and by the people here and now. The government can scarcely be better or stronger than its communities and the people who compose its background. Just as service and justice must be measured and extended to the people of a community in accordance with their own qualities, abilities and participations, so service and justice can hardly be made more complete than the will and abilities of the citizens of the several communities which constitute a commonwealth. Here again is a problem of both races and of all groups. It is important alike that the negro race and the white race obey the laws of community and state and nation; and that they prepare themselves for citizenship and for rendering of service to others as well as receiving service from the government. Preparation for service and citizenship is as much the prerequisite of one group as another. Law abidingness is as essential to the one as to another. Wherever law is broken there ensues civic tragedy. The rendering of injustice to any group must inevitably result in the deterioration, and therefore injustice, to the other group. The breaking of the law by any one group must inevitably result at later times in the ineffectiveness of that law to serve that group or any other group. Law and gov-

ernment are fundamental, structural, and essential forms of technique for promoting and maintaining the public good. They must therefore render justice, serve the people, grow more perfect.

*Industry and Work:* Work is a law of life. Industry becomes one of society's effective institutions. Without work there will be no success, progress or happiness. But work is often conditioned largely by health. There can be no full measure of work and success without its basis of fresh energies and abilities found in sound bodies and clean surroundings. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of hours and dollars and opportunities are lost because of a poor basis in good health. Hence comes again the call to make the economic foundations strong by good health and sanitation. Work is also largely conditioned by working conditions. The spirit of the employer and the measure of his pay and his sympathy go far in making for better results, just as the spirit of rendering value received and of coöperation on the part of the worker go far toward making employment permanent and remunerative. Conditions on the farm and in the farm home are important. Better working conditions and better tenant homes should bring about and be accompanied by more production and more happiness. They are perhaps the first basis upon which to rest appeals for better conditions in towns and cities, and better opportunities for fair play should be accompanied by better production, more prosperity, and a higher development on the part of negro workers. Fairness in service should then bring about fairness in trade and pay. Time, energy, faithfulness and justice are the essentials of progress here, as elsewhere.

*The Community:* There is perhaps universal agreement as to the truth of all the general principles involved in relations of home and family, school and education, church and religion, government and law, work and industry. Perhaps no one, either individual or race, will for a moment doubt the inevitable law of cause and effect as it relates to the principles stated. Of course there is agreement as to the importance of health and housing, happiness and success, schooling and knowledge, worship and better race relation, and

the others. But we have too long considered them as matters for the individual. They are, rather, matters for the community and cannot be isolated. There is no family which can be isolated from its part in the community, and no community can evade its responsibility for good health, for good living conditions, for good working conditions, for good race relations. What about the community's interests between the races? What about the community's responsibility for recreation and the use of idle moments? What about the community's responsibility for the opposite—for the places of filth and vicious use of spare time. What about the community's responsibility for a health program? or a work program? or a program of better relations and coöperation of leaders in school, church, work, community, justice? What about coöperation and foresight? What about the community's duty and its ability to look ahead and prevent tragedies of mal-adjustment and wrong relationships? As the community is, therefore, so is the whole program of race relations and race welfare.

#### THE WORKERS IN THE FIELD

In a program of progress the institutions above mentioned will, of course, function largely. As are the homes, schools, churches, laws, communities, and industries, so will, in a large measure, the results be. But there are three groups of workers upon whom will fall the large measure of leadership and guidance. These groups, fortunately, ought to include all, emphasizing the individual responsibility, even as the institutional responsibility has been emphasized previously. The groups are: first, the socially minded *citizen*, looking to his part of the task; second, the *teacher*, the *preacher* and the *social worker*, of whatever objective, whether home and farm demonstration agent, or community worker in town, or mill, or country, or whether representative of voluntary agencies, or of the various agencies of public welfare in the state; and third, the *press* with its ever present and eager desire to be on the job, interpret the problems and currents of social progress, and to render service to its constituency. With these actively in the field, progress will come in due time.

### THE TUSKEGEE CONFERENCE

ALBIN L. HOLSEY

**"B**ETTER farming, better business and better living" is the slogan of the two thousand farmers who gathered at Tuskegee Institute for the Annual Farmers Conference on January 17th and 18th.

In his annual address to the farmers, Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, said, "It was thirty-two years ago that our friend, Dr. Washington, called together a few farmers and invited to meet with them a few white people who were interested in the agricultural advancement of the negro, and in the development of the South."

Since the beginning of the conference it has been a steadily growing influence in the South, and some of the results of the conference are indicated in the increased land ownership of negroes in the South, and a growing feeling of sympathy and understanding between the white and colored people of the South.

#### SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE CONFERENCE

Some of the special features of the conference included the presentation of the Booker T. Washington Memorial Truck which is used in connection with the movable schools, a very striking exhibit of farm products, a series of demonstrations given by the students in the various divisions of the institute on improved methods of farm work, and the stirring address by the Honorable C. W. Pugsley, assistant secretary of agriculture.

#### THE EXHIBIT

The large exhibition tent enclosed a remarkable display of the various types of agricultural and horticultural products of the South. One section of the tent was set aside for farm products while on the other side was the exhibit of specimens of handicraft made from southern by-products such as corn shucks and other products



which are usually discarded in the home. Beautiful fancy work, preserved and canned vegetables and fruits were also presented. One of the most striking displays was a contrast presented in miniature between two types of rural homes. One represented an unpainted house with broken-down steps, no window panes, no flowers, the yard growing over with weeds and fences and outhouses in need of repair. In contrast thereto was another house built on the same general plan, but painted, with the steps in good order, screens and window panes in place, the yard beautified by flowers, and fences and outhouses in order. This lesson was especially presented to show some of the concrete results of the movable school work. The value of chemistry in agriculture was demonstrated by an exhibit of Professor Carver's products and experiments, and in the presence of the farmers soils and fertilizers were analyzed and it was also shown how to determine the food value of various vegetables and other farm products.

#### THE DEMONSTRATIONS

The purpose of each demonstration was to teach some lesson which would improve conditions in the rural districts. To carry out this aim, the demonstrations were divided into two parts; some for the women and others for the men. To carry out the general purpose, an improvised, well arranged six-room cottage was erected in front of Dorothy Hall, and this house was so constructed as to show all the conveniences and labor-saving machinery which are available to the rural home. The furniture was attractive but inexpensive, having been made, principally, from dry goods boxes. Scarves on the dressing tables, dressers and washstand, etc., were made from flour sacks upon which beautiful designs had been worked. Cleanliness, hygiene and sanitation were emphasized in every room; in the cooking and preparation of food; in laundering, in the care of the bed rooms. The necessity of screening the house against flies and mosquitoes was also stressed. Further lessons in economy were taught by the display of children's clothing, aprons, etc., which had been made from odds and ends of cloth from the sewing room. Gloves made from worn out stockings were displayed. Methods of darning stockings were shown. Correct methods of dairying were

demonstrated by the dairy division of the Tuskegee Institute. Each step in the process of milk was explained, and the importance of using thoroughbred stock was especially emphasized.

The demonstrations for the men included methods of repairing shoes, harness, tin ware, farm implements, and in keeping the house and premises in repair. Simple methods of painting and carpentry were taught by the students of the several divisions at Tuskegee Institute.

#### THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON MEMORIAL TRUCK

In the year 1906 Dr. Booker T. Washington had constructed at Tuskegee Institute a demonstration wagon which was sent out through the county to carry the message of better farming to the farmers. In describing the origin of the movable school idea Dr. Moton stated that the first demonstration wagon was made possible through the generosity of the late Morris K. Jesup who through Dr. Washington became interested in this feature of rural development. This wagon was fitted up with implements such as might be used on up-to-date farms of that era. It carried a cream separator, a milk tester, a revolving hand churn, a one horse and two horse steel beam plow, a spike tooth harrow, models of crates for packing farm products and other similar equipment. The wagon was in charge of T. M. Campbell, a graduate of the agricultural department of Tuskegee Institute, and who is at present in the employ of the United States Department of Agriculture as supervisor of the work of the two hundred and twenty-seven negro demonstration agents in the seven Southern states. With the passing of the wagon there came a Ford truck which was fitted up to carry on the same general work as had been done by the Jesup wagon. The Booker T. Washington Memorial Truck, constructed at a cost of five thousand dollars, represented contributions from colored people of the state of Alabama who had given this money to perpetuate the idea of the movable school work as initiated by Dr. Washington.

The Booker T. Washington Memorial Truck is a White truck, and its special body was made by the Hobbie Motor Company of Montgomery, Alabama. It is not only equipped with modern agricultural implements but also carries a complete motion picture outfit and a phonograph.

## FIGHTING THE BOLL WEEVIL

No group of farmers in the South could come together without discussing the great menace to Southern agricultural prosperity—the boll weevil. Many of the farmers who spoke related their experiences in raising cotton under boll weevil conditions, and notwithstanding the experiences that most of the farmers have had, there was an attitude of grim determination exhibited by them that they would conquer the boll weevil. Dr. Moton summed the situation up when he said that "there is too much scientific knowledge, too much resourcefulness, and too much determination in the South for us to be swept off our feet by a little bug."

Dr. J. A. Evans, of the States Relations Service, United States Department of Agriculture, believes that there are two distinct methods of fighting the boll weevil, one of which is to poison the weevil and the other is to cultivate the cotton intensively for thirty days at the time of squaring so as to prevent the punctured squares from hatching the weevil.

Dr. Pugsley said that "the boll weevil is the evil of the cotton crop of the Southland. To conquer it, therefore, means a stubborn fight \* \* \* and while the South is fighting the boll weevil, I would like to appeal to you to raise other market crops while you are raising cotton. The problems that confront the farmers of the United States are largely economic—getting something for their products and having something left after they have paid for the things that they have bought."

## NEGRO MIGRATION

Of equal importance with the question of the boll weevil was the question of negro migration. The sentiment of the conference was expressed in the resolution adopted which said, "In the

South are great and permanent opportunities for the masses of our people. This section is entering upon its greatest era of development and prosperity. Here millions of acres of land are yet to be cultivated, cities are to be built, railroads extended and mines worked. Here we have acquired a footing in the soil. Here are located more than ninety per cent of the farms owned by the negroes." Thus the conference sets forth numerous advantages which are offered to the members of the negro race to remain on the farms of the South. To the white people of the South the conference appropriately makes earnest appeal, in the following words: "Negroes love the South. Thousands of our people, however, are leaving because they believe that in the North they will have an opportunity not only to earn more money than they are making here but also that in spite of other difficulties they will get better treatment, better protection under the law, and will have better school facilities for their children."

As a measure of precaution in the matter of lawlessness on the part of the irresponsible members of both races Dr. Moton urged that the farmers, law makers and other representative citizens of both races, "should take under consideration more seriously the question of reckless and promiscuous 'pistol-totin' by irresponsible people, both white and black. I believe that the facts will bear out my statement that many crimes are committed because in moments of temporary anger such persons have a pistol handy and usually awake to find themselves murderers. I believe that we should start a nation wide campaign to arouse the attention of the South to this question, and I believe, further, that we should exercise the same restrictions on the sale of fire arms as we do on the manufacture and sale of liquor. There is no more serious menace to the peace and prosperity of the two races."

THE SECOND GENERATION OF  
RACE RELATIONS

*The following message given by Dean W. F. Tillett at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches is so typical of the spirit of inter-racial relations that we have thought best to present it here through the courtesy of the Council.*

"BEFORE PASSING from the consideration of the subject of Christian Education to the next subject on your program, I ask that I may be permitted to make a few remarks that are personal to myself and one other member of this Executive Committee who is present here this

afternoon, and whose work in life, like my own, has long been that of Christian Education. I am quite sure that the relationship that exists between me and this fellow-member of the council to whom I refer is one that does not exist between any other two members of this Executive Committee; and I am equally sure that this peculiar relationship will not likely ever again be duplicated in all the future history of the Federal Council. I allude to the fact that the son of a former Southern slave-holder and the son of one who was formerly owned by him in the days of slavery are together here in this room this afternoon as fellow-members of this Federal Council and of this Executive Committee.

#### BORN IN SLAVERY; NOW AN EDUCATOR

"Among the small number of slaves owned by my father and mother in my early childhood, the one we thought most of and trusted most and loved best was named Allen Atkins. It is that man's son, Prof. S. G. Atkins, founder and president of Slater Normal College, of Winston-Salem, N. C., born in the midst of the Civil War in the village of Haywood, N. C., who is here today as a member with me and you of this Executive Committee and as the honored representative of one of the churches constituting this council. He was educated at St. Augustine Normal and Collegiate Institute, at Raleigh, which is recognized as perhaps the best institution of its kind for the education of colored people that is conducted by the Episcopal Church in the South. Soon after graduating at this Institute, Mr. Atkins founded the institution at Winston-Salem, now some thirty years ago, of which he has always been the head and which is now the property of the State of North Carolina. The fact that the state should be willing to take over the property and retain Professor Atkins so long at the head of it, is the highest possible compliment to the character of the school and of the executive ability and moral worth of its president. With this bit of information concerning his father and his own achievements, I am now going to ask President Atkins to come forward and let me present him to the council."

As he came forward Dean Tillett extended his hand and said: "If thy heart is as my heart give me thy hand." Having shaken hands, as

the two stood before the audience, Dean Tillett said further:

"President Atkins, I honor the memory of my father and am proud of my descent from him; but I want to say that I also honor and revere the memory of your father, Allen Atkins. He was a good and true man; and I congratulate you both on account of your descent from so good a man and also on account of your ascent in that you have risen from the conditions of poverty and obscurity in which you were born to a large and high place of influence in your race—and this you have done not by self seeking but by merit and by service to your race, your church and your native state. And when I think of these conditions that you have overcome, and what you have accomplished, I feel that your achievement in life is greater than anything that I can claim to have done. If all the members of your race and mine could understand each other and feel towards each other as you and I do, there would, I think, be no race troubles between the black man and the white. It was one of my former students, Dr. W. W. Alexander, who on yesterday spoke to the council and showed us how much he and other leaders of both races are trying to do to promote and maintain right relations between the two races. I rejoice in the fact that you and I are both now free; for the emancipation of the negro race in this country meant also the emancipation of the white race; for as long as the incubus of slavery lasts the slave-holder and the slave are both in bondage and both are inevitably kept back from their highest and best racial development.

#### COWORKERS IN CHRISTIAN SERVICE

"The worth and the greatness alike of individuals and of races depends not upon the color of the skin but upon their culture, character and service to mankind; and it is your lot and mine as educators of the young men and young women of our respective races so to develop them in intelligence and moral character and capacity for efficient service that the white race and the black race shall each respect and serve the other, and both together work, in a Christian spirit and in a Christian way, to make our country and our nation great not only commercially but morally and spiritually. Your father and mine were both



alike willing bond-servants of Jesus Christ while here in the flesh. They are together now in a land where both are free; and I can but think, if they look down upon us from the glory land, they rejoice to see their sons associated together in the freedom and fellowship of this council and in the work of Christian education. Thanking the chairman for giving me time to say those words about my father and yours, and to express to you in this presence my high regard for you and the work you are doing, I pray God's blessing upon you and your people."

Prolonged applause followed these remarks as Dr. Tillett and President Atkins returned to their seats; and the applause did not cease until President Atkins was called back to the platform by the chairman and requested to say something. His remarks, which were brief and delivered with modesty, were listened to with deep interest by the audience. He spoke as follows:

#### BRIGHT SPOTS IN RACE RELATIONS

"This is a gracious moment for me, and one of hopeful suggestiveness for my race. The name of Rev. John Tillett was greatly honored and revered in the humble home of my childhood; and this gracious consideration of me and of my race by his son, Dean Tillett, is in line with my feeling that it is desirable to bring out the bright spots in this matter of race relations. There are of course many dark spots, many things to dis-

courage, but I believe in stressing the bright spots.

"As a colored man and citizen of North Carolina, I recall that the first appropriation made by the state legislature for a school for the special training of negro teachers in our state was the small sum of two thousand dollars. Our general assembly, two years ago, appropriated nearly one million dollars for this same purpose, and we are hoping that our legislature which is soon to assemble, will be actuated by a like spirit and make a like appropriation to carry forward the wise and liberal program now under way for the education of negroes in North Carolina. This spirit of liberality and good feeling is naturally the fruit of the fine and gracious sentiments expressed by Dean Tillett, and such a spirit is characteristic of the noble type of Southerner which he represents. It is this phase of this whole subject which I think should be most of all stressed at this time. To think of and bring out continually more and more the bright spots rather than the dark ones will tend to make the dark spots less dark and the bright spots in our race relationships more bright and more lasting.

"I want to say in conclusion that I appreciate very much the consideration of Dean Tillett which he has manifested this day in this presence toward the son of the man who was once owned by his father."

## County and Country Life Programs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOCIALIZATION OF RURAL MINDS

JOHN M. GILLETTE

THERE has been much discussion of what has been called the individualism of farmers. Generally on the part of students of rural affairs it has been conceded to be a fact. Further, it has been noted as an undesirable condition which should be mitigated and overcome. It may be worth while, therefore, to examine this situation and to indicate possible modes of transformation to a less individualistic status.

The term, socialization, means many things to many people. In this respect, it is akin to that term instinct which is so uncertain in signification that the number of instincts posited ranges all the way from one or two to thirty or more, according to the writer. So, socialization may mean all the processes in the development of society by means of which human beings have become the social beings they are now, the taking over of property by the state, the reconstruction of institutions and organizations to make them more adapted to modern social purposes, and the impartation to individualistic minds a social outlook. For our purposes, we will adhere to the last meaning and think of the socialization of rural minds as the procedure by which the community view and social attitude is bred, the process by which individuals come to regard life and its activities in relation to the collectivity.

There is the question as to whether or not farmers' minds require to be socialized, whether they are decidedly individualistic. Professor Snedden, in his *Educational Sociology*, asserts that the statement that farmers are individualists is an unsupported generalization. The question is one which should be settled as being of both scientific and practical importance. The attitude and undertakings of welfare workers, county agents, demonstrators and the like will be shaped

accordingly as one or the other statement is accepted.

Let us admit outright that by nature—biological heredity or birth—farmers are probably no more individualistic and no less social minded than are urbanites. The only reason for thinking that they may be rests on the assumption that a long standing migration of farmers to cities has exercised a selective process in the course of which more socialized individuals have settled in cities, leaving the more individualistic strain in the country to reproduce its kind, supposedly in an accelerating ratio. This might occur, perhaps, but as yet we have no exact demonstration of it. Moreover, so far as we know, the farming populations longest subjected to such selective process appear to be no more individualistic than the new and pioneer rural inhabitants.

The following points tend to support the claim that farmers are more individualistic than urban dwellers.

Their spatial separation and large dependence on the family for social satisfaction is a ground for surmising that their outlook would be relatively individualistic. We will recall in this connection that there are some persons living in compact populations who adopt the individualistic attitude either from philosophical considerations or as a matter of business policy. The philosophical sort of persons, however, would be very few in farming populations.

An accompaniment and result of dwelling aloof is the infrequency of contact among farming people. By contrast, business men and others in cities meet often, talk things over, agitate, work upon one another and organize for realizing certain policies. In a narrow sense, business men are over-socialized—or even anti-socialized in that through frequent discussions and organi-

zations they come to promote their own interests to the detriment of society at large. But farmer organizations usually have been weak and short lived, largely because farmers are scattered.

Again, it may easily appear to the farmer that, nature being propitious, his own efforts determine his crop returns, others and society having little to do with it. This somewhat natural but highly individualistic inference overlooks the fact that his total productivity includes the marketing process and that this lies outside his control as an individual.

Finally, actual experience and observation indicate that farmers are conservative in undertaking community projects and also in acting concertedly for larger economic and political ends, save in times of stress and emergency when they may become temporarily radical. But so far in America, they have not systematically nor constantly thought in terms of collective action.

In seeking to meet the question as to whether it would be profitable for farmers to act collectively, the answer would turn on the discovery in rural life of the needs and problems which could not be met individually. It may be posited that a closer communal existence for them is desirable in itself as offering a complete life and also as a means to various ends. There are many undertakings such as improving highways, promoting health, and developing the school and church which closer association will promote. Local associations are the preconditions and foundations of great regional and national organizations bent on promoting such important processes as marketing farm produce, placing co-operative undertakings on a permanent footing, furthering favorable political action, and the like.

In approaching the consideration of program or formula which will prove effective in socializing unsocial rural minds and neighborhoods a word of caution is needful. It is obvious that a uniform formula for all farm neighborhoods of this nation is impossible, and this for this reason: the great diversity of rural neighborhoods and communities. There is no one pattern of agricultural community which is representative of all such communities. The greatest divergencies occur because of differences in physical conditions and crop response, in kinds of populations and grades of cultural intelligence, and in varieties of needs. We can have little confidence in

any one panacea but must look rather to the formulation of principles which will be useful guides in constructing socializing programs anywhere and everywhere. The present writer is only measurably competent to treat this phase of socialization and entirely incompetent to pronounce upon the relative value of particular programs, the latter being the function of field workers who are in a position to experiment and so to evaluate such programs.

For our purposes these principles for socializing undertakings may be briefly and somewhat dogmatically stated to be as follows: (1) Unless association is to be empty and futile it must center about a need, and since needs vary according to the type of community a competent survey should be made of the given neighborhood for the discovery, among other desiderata, of this need, (2) because our American communities vary so greatly in levels of intelligence, the greatest care is needed in order to suit and fit the program to the culture level in question. Intellectual feasts among almost primitive peoples or emotional juggling among thinking peoples are failures before they begin, (3) community effort is bound to involve and depend on a high degree of like mindedness among the inhabitants to be reached and attention must be paid to creating and focussing interest on some common objective suited to the situation, (4) socialization of minds rests on creating an undisputed prevalence of ideas, sentiments, and practices among the people in question and the appropriate means of securing this prevalence consists in what Hayes calls suggestion, sympathetic radiation and imitation. The promoter of socializing programs needs to be versed in the use of suitable devices for facilitating these processes, (5) the fact should not be overlooked that rural inhabitants have a due supply of the ordinary instincts and appetites and that a community approach must take stock of these and make use of them. The propensity to eat is not peculiar to farm people and the world has made good use of feasts and feeds from primitive times down to this day in its efforts to promote group solidarity.

A word or two may be said regarding the application of the above suggestions to the work of program making. It is a question as to whether the most effective approach, in the sense of attaining coöperative activity, is by way of recre-



ation or play or of centering on some practical, utilitarian undertaking.

There are a variety of utilitarian projects—of course not unmixed with sociability features—in present efforts at community building, depending somewhat on the region, of which the following are illustrations: improvement of some phase of production or of marketing, canning clubs for girls, and production clubs for both boys and girls, domestic science and child nurture clubs for women, neighborhood improvement clubs, farmers' clubs, and the like.

The recreational approach is likely to appear in the form of musical organizations open to all above a certain age or by holding play events or play days in connection with the school most likely. Both churches and schools have made use of both music and play with great success. Historically, it seems that play or music or drama have been the great spontaneous socializers, but in modern times all may depend on the place and the leader. Probably the most used way in our country today consists in gathering the neighborhood population together in the form of farmers' clubs or grange at which times programs of talks,

readings, music, feast, and perhaps games are carried out. At present, there is no one best way evident.

The highest and best form of socialization consists not in bringing people together in one place, however desirable that may be, but in developing in rural minds the social outlook and view point. This enables rural people to see themselves as a part of a great national and world mechanism, to discover and evaluate their functions in it, and to grasp principles by means of the application of which their condition in life may be improved. It consists also of cultivating a love of information and culture which results in the reading of the best and choicest literary and scientific contributions and puts them in touch with intelligence the world over. Education has its contribution to make here. The schools must be improved both in quality of product and in extent of educational effort. Boys and girls must be kept in school in country high schools adapted in plant and courses of study to the work and needs of the country. They need more natural science, far more social science, and time to grow in literary appreciation and grasp of fundamentals.

## BOOKS FOR COUNTRY READERS IN KENTUCKY

FLORENCE HOLMES RIDGWAY

**T**O a Kentucky bookwagoner the appellation "Extension Librarian" brings a large feeling of small dimensions. She is perfectly conscious that it is a courteous term for a "Jack of all trades and master of none." And in view of her lack of mastery she feels very strongly that library schools should expand their curriculums, and provide simple and practical courses in medicine, nursing, law, agriculture, home science, social psychology and doctrinal theology. When starting on a trip a bookwagoner never knows what depths of ignorance will be revealed in herself before the day ends. She may be called upon to advise what to do for a sick baby, to explain why the hens are taking a vacation when eggs are sixty cents a dozen, what legal measures are advisable about a farm tied up with a recreant husband, and to gracefully evade telling why she is not a Baptist.

The librarian, as servitor of human welfare,

must everywhere find his work characterized by local aspects that lend their peculiar joy or trial, but upon Kentucky librarians this mantle of experience falls in triple fold.

A few years ago when a devoted son of this state compiled an anthology of "All That's Kentucky," he presented to our view a composite picture of loyalty and adoration such as no other commonwealth has ever inspired. Because Kentucky thus claims hearts, whosoever dwells within her borders, bent upon deeds of human welfare, has a task preëminently difficult and delightful. The native Kentuckian baffles characterization. He is branded with dire evils and extolled with heavenly virtues. His individualism is in quintessence. To the foreign mind the most outstanding trait of an American is independence. But, take a Kentuckian, especially if he be of that notably self-reliant class, the farmers, and still more especially, if in his veins flows the Anglo-

Saxon ego-hood of the mountains or the blue grass, and we have an individuality before which the world must need bow its head. With such a personage must we Kentucky librarians deal who are engaged in rural work. He both inspires and obstructs our efforts and even while our voices are lifted in lamentation, rejoicing glows in our hearts. Thus he comes before us, a subject for diagnosis, to discover, if we may, what literary therapeutics his case requires.

When one looks over this beautiful state it is easy to understand that native bard who wrote:

"When the last trump wakes the land and the sea,  
And the tombs of the earth set their prisoners free,  
You may all go aloft, if you choose, but for me,  
I think I'll just stay in Kentucky."

Kentucky as an agricultural state has remarkable advantages. One-fourth of her territory is unsurpassable in fertility, more than one-half is of high grade, and less than one-fifth is really inferior. Shaler says "it is doubtful if an equally good showing can be made for any other state in the Mississippi valley and there are few regions in the world where so large an area with so little waste land can be found." Thus richly endowed by nature the rural life of Kentucky should be her glory. Instead over it all falls a dark shadow from which look out the hungry eyes of little children and the heart-burdened faces of men and women. Yet the light of a new day is kindling, and here and there on the mountain tops and over the meadowed plains, joyous morning sounds are heard. May God hasten the glowing noontide! If in these moments together we look at the shadows it is only that we may help to more speedily banish them.

In rural Kentucky live more than seventy-three per cent of the state's population. In the matter of the fundamental essentials of human welfare there is not a vast difference in the conditions of the rural folk throughout the state. There are regional phases such as the retardation of the mountains, and the rapidly increasing tenancy of the blue grass, but there are certain conditions that are state wide. Health, sanitation, roads, soil conservation, child labor, neglected schools, unkept homes—all these things are vital problems throughout rural Kentucky.

These are days when the librarian has a wonderful opportunity to connect his forces with

practically all the advance lines of social service, but his province is more intimately linked with the school and the home. We know that it is only by an intimate knowledge of the conditions existing therein that we constructively reach the life of the people. Let us, therefore, consider together some of the salient details of these conditions.

There are over 631,000 children of school age in our rural districts. There is an average attendance of sixty-five per cent. In the mountain region the attendance is higher than in other sections of the state. The lowest attendance, thirty-five per cent, is in Calloway county in the west, and the highest attendance, ninety-one per cent, is in Elliot county—in the mountains. These figures mean that 35,000 children are taken out of the school to tend the hillside crops or work in the tobacco fields. Our state laws do not protect the farm boy or girl from working from 4 a. m. to 8 p. m. nor compel them to go to school after the age of twelve. On the average our country child receives school room instruction only about sixty days a year. The average country child is two or three years behind the urban child in his grade. Nearly one-third of our country children stop school at the fifth grade and only one in three hundred completes the eighth grade. Kentucky's current expenditures for her rural child is twelve dollars and seventy-five cents per annum.

Inadequate salaries not only produce a great shortage of teachers but put hundreds of sub-standard rank to "keepin' school." Most of the schools have a minimum of equipment and are bare, cold and ugly. The sanitation is often not only a menace to health but to morals. The grounds are weed patches with a few worn spots where the children carry on their undirected play. Few schools have any suggestion of a library. Now and then an enterprising teacher has a "pie supper" and uses the money for books. But she has to keep the books at her boarding place, as a rule, until she can have some other gastronomic festivity and buy a case which can be kept locked against the depredations of rowdies who so often make the school house their rendezvous.

Yet, despite all these untoward conditions the children of our rural schools, according to my



experience, are wonderfully eager and responsive. The other day I visited a remote school kept by a third rate teacher and was told that the trustee had said "they'd have to close school when it got cold because they couldn't get coal." I asked the children how many would carry a stick of wood to school every day to keep it from closing and nearly every hand flew up in ready response.

Equally eager are the children to enter into the agricultural club work, the health crusades and the various other forms of contests. We have a library book contest on now in fifteen schools around Berea and in some of these schools the children have organized literary societies and plan and conduct their own programs.

The illiteracy of rural Kentucky is 9.8 per cent. In the mountain counties it averages higher ranging from 5 per cent in Boyd to 21 per cent in Leslie. Our illiterates often deserve special attention from the librarian. Some of our most appreciative bookwagon patrons are illiterates. One such, a quaint old lady whose husband reads to her, gratefully told us one day that "it is the nicest thing I ever knowed the way you folks haul around books for us." And it was an illiterate mother who said, "I don't want any of my children growin' up so they can't read. You know what they need. Fit 'em out from four to sixteen."

The farm home! The dearest spot on earth! What sweet visions the words call forth! Winter evenings, the family gathered around the glowing hearth, a basket of red apples shining on the table, father resting in his easy chair, mother plying her needle over a dainty piece of linen, bright-eyed children clustered about while the eldest daughter reads aloud. In how many homes we saw yesterday do such evenings come? We saw houses through which the winter winds mercilessly sweep, others we saw having an exterior that bespoke a fair degree of comfort, but an interior inspection would reveal an amazing lack of the comforts essential to well balanced living. When fancies are dropped and we take a square look at the living conditions in most of our country homes the picture changes. From a different angle we see "the ploughman homeward plod his weary way" while his tired wife goes out to milk "the lowing herd that winds slowly over the lea," "leaving the world to darkness" after everybody else's work is done.

A most serious situation we must consider when there stand before us the appalling figures of our last census: the rural population of the United States has increased one and one-half millions, the urban twelve millions. In our state the rural increase is only 2.8 per cent while the urban increase is 14.1 per cent—although the gain in our mountain section is over 13 per cent. We have a very grave economic problem of nation wide concern.

While there are several causes operating to produce this situation one that stands in the forefront is the fact that people are leaving the farm because of dissatisfaction with living conditions. Long hours of labor, hard work, lack of comfort, inadequate incomes and dreary monotony are some of the factors.

The recent government survey of farm women in northern and western states brought to light one of the greatest menaces to rural life—the waste of woman's power. Such a survey in the Southland would show even more pronounced conditions. It was found that the working day of the average farm woman is eleven hours the year round and in summer thirteen hours. Her work is of the hardest kind and done with few labor saving conveniences. Her hands do the family wash, cooking, baking, sewing, often the gardening and milking, and often help care for the stock and field crops. Added to all these tasks comes the bearing of children without needed comfort and rest.

Upon the farm man the burden of life falls a little less heavily. He labors with fewer inconveniences but his hours are long and his work is attended with wearing hardships. He gets away from home more frequently than his wife, but changes from the daily round are few.

Country life under the hardest conditions has compensations, but even so, the average farmer and his wife have a hard task. Despite their faithful efforts the fields often yield poor crops and the home but ill nourishes the precious lives therein. They do not know how to make things better. The food is poorly cooked and without balance; the sanitation negligible. Many of our country children even in the better homes are suffering from malnutrition. Infant mortality is on the increase in Kentucky, the rate being one hundred out of every thousand and in some of



our mountain counties as high as one hundred and forty. Life in the country can improve only as the home maker learns to do her work wisely. Nor can she do her work wisely without adequate support from the farmer's fields.

The farmer and his wife are not readers. The main reasons are already clear. Long hours of labor leave little free time and produce physical weariness that sends them to bed about eight o'clock. They have only small kerosene lights, as a rule, and eye strain results. They refuse our books sometimes because they "hurt their eyes readin' the last ones." One old lady said she was "goin' to send to town to buy her some glasses." It is a very rare thing for them to have properly fitted glasses. Their education averages about the fourth grade and reading does not come easy. On their table may be seen a local and a farm paper and the Bible and with these their reading ambitions are satisfied. A woman to whom we proffered books told us that she "was too busy studyin' Revelation and anyway she didn't believe much in readin' the works of man."

What the farmer really likes is to pull off his shoes at the end of the day, start his pipe and settle down to hearing his children read from their school books or any others at hand; and his wife always patches his overalls less diligently while they read aloud.

The farm children are more ambitious and will read almost anything they can get their hands on if it isn't hard. More pernicious reading in the form of dime novels and quarter story papers get into our farm homes than we realize.

Given an opportunity do the farm folk wake up to the enjoyment of books? Yes, with qualifications. Not a great deal can be done to change the habits of adults. Sometimes they frankly say, "You can't change us old folks but go on with the boys and girls." The child is the home and community leader, not potentially only, but in fact. The range of reading tastes among the country folk is limited, but even if their limitations cannot be greatly influenced much can be done to deepen and gladden life for them. As we know, the farm people especially need *helpful* literature on farming, homemaking and child care. Very few books have been written that really touch the life of the country people as they know it. Much that has been produced is but carica-

ture. Too many books about the country are written by ignorant idealists or devitalized experts. The farm folk shrewdly put the one class aside for what it is not worth and do not take the trouble to use a dictionary to translate the other into their simple English. Some of the bulletin literature comes nearer fitting their needs, but our government publications are too often over their heads. Some corporations, such as the International Harvester Company, publish simple, concise bulletins that are more to the farmers' liking than many of the government publications. The "Cornell bulletins for farmers' wives" are the best I know, but they usually presuppose refrigerators and running water. A favorite with our book wagon women is "American Motherhood." It is most regrettable that it ceased publication. We use the old numbers over and over and there is scarcely a mother who does not want one each trip.

As one looks over the list of books chosen by the American Library Association and the National Education Association for the rural schools certain questions arise. Why are there none that deal with the actual environment of the child, none that point to the possibilities pent up in his own being and his surroundings that will fire him with the zest of conquest and the "wild joy of living" in the country? The prime value of education is to prepare one to live his life in the best way. It is of a great deal more value to the country boy to read a spicy story about how the birds helped Johnny win a prize in the corn club contest than to read of the exploits of Robin Hood and his outlaws.

In making this list it was assumed that every school has a Bible—far from it—but even if it had, the children don't read it. But they do like stories selected from the Bible and they are not slow to catch their lessons of heroism and high endeavor and such stories have a greater value for the children than the tale of the "Treasure Island" pirates. No opportunity for putting a Bible story into a child's mind should be neglected especially when only about one-third of the rural children of Kentucky go to Sunday school. The Bible is a book of rural life. Its people move under the open sky and through the furrowed field. Its lessons touch the everydayness of our country life and find there responsive hearts. To the fullest should Bible ideals be

nourished in our rural homes and schools for no education has found its highest usefulness which does not reach the spirit of man, and to our country people more than any others we have reason to look for that leadership in spiritual things which will save our nation from its fast deepening materialism.

Too often our efforts for farm folk are on the basis that human nature is the same the world over. In certain points it is, but beyond these well known characteristics it widens into divergent traits. Different modes of life, different environments and different activities produce types of mind. There is an urban mind and a rural mind. When the literature of rural America is born it will come from the minds and hearts of those who are born and dwell amidst country ways. May we librarians who know and love our great country folk proclaim their need for the books which "belong to them!" Let us protest against the so-called "country life" books which do not touch that life at its core!

There are great and heartening changes coming. Already our school books are getting nearer the life of the child in matters of health, recreation, vocations and citizenship. In such books as Calfee's Rural Arithmetic, Smith's Our Neighborhood, Lewis's Waterboys and Mrs. Stewart's Country Life Readers, we find the effort to give the rural child a knowledge of himself and his environment that will lead him to their mastery. The motto of our school agricultural

clubs is ideal: "the training of the health, the hand, the head, the heart."

There is one paper published in our country whose contents extended into book form would make ideal literature for the country home—the "Youths' Companion." Its English is beyond reproach yet simple, its stories wholesomely realistic and concerned with everyday rational folk; its adventures are thrilling yet not intoxicating; its humor clean; its serious articles on matters of broad interest are thoughtful, reflecting fine attitudes; its bits of religious talks are stimulating and its children's page full of happy things.

Certain salient considerations should be before us in the matter of selecting books for country readers:

Choose books which are not of large size, which have clear type, are well illustrated, if possible, and are simply and graphically written.

Choose those that will give entertainment and take them out of themselves without drawing contrasts unfavorable to country life and people.

Choose those that will reveal the beauty and wonder in the world at their doorways.

Choose those that comfort and lift the heart upward and lend courage and gladness; that will help them realize the glory of their heritage as country people; that will lead them to think of all necessary work as holy and to invest their round of commonplace tasks with spiritual significance and life with God-filled purposes.

## A SURVEY OF CONDITIONS AFFECTING CHILDREN OF BRADLEY COUNTY ARKANSAS

FRANCES SAGE BRADLEY

**T**HIS study was made in response to a request from the Bradley County Anti-Tuberculosis Association and its object was to place at the disposal of citizens of the county a statement of conditions affecting the welfare of their children with a view of meeting their need.

The study consisted of:

1. A house to house study to ascertain the economic, physical and sanitary conditions under which Bradley county children are born and reared.

2. The organization of two classes of midwives and their instruction in the requirements of the law; in the details of a clean, safe delivery; and the effort to instill in them a pride in raising the standard of their work.

3. A series of children's health conferences where supposedly well children were weighed, measured and examined and their parents shown where they were succeeding and where failing to secure the best possible results. Whenever indicated, children were referred to their own doctor or dentist.



1. The house to house study. Number of homes visited:

	Urban (Warren)	Rural	Total
White .....	334	483	817
Colored .....	185	185	370
Total .....	519	668	1187

*Ownership of Homes:* Of the 334 Warren families studies, 159 or less than 50 per cent owned their homes while 174 were tenants. Out in the county 319 or 66 per cent of the white population were owners while 33 per cent were tenants. Among the negroes, owners and tenants were about equally divided.

The wisdom of owning a home in the city may be a debatable question but there is probably no greater menace to the progress of our great rural country than that of a floating, unstable citizenship. If the average French farmer can support his family on fifteen acres of ground the average American farmer can do the same, especially with the soil and climate of Bradley county. Practically every man can acquire 15 acres of land. The problem of tenancy gravely handicaps the progress of our southern states, the tenant rarely providing permanently or adequately for his family. Neither does he become identified with the school or the community life, from his home built on shifting sand.

*Food:* The home owner keeps a cow and chickens, makes a garden and his wife conserves fruit and vegetables for winter use. The tenant on the other hand feeds his children from tin cans and paper bags or on the traditional hog, hominy and sorghum which are not good growing foods. Questions were asked therefore as to the possession of cows, chickens and gardens. It was found that of 483 rural whites reporting, 62 or more than 13 per cent kept no cows, and 76 or 15 per cent of the negro families, though milk is recognized as the best all round food for growing children.

Forty-two rural white families and 32 rural negro families kept no chickens though the growing child will do better on eggs and poultry than on their stand-by of pork. Fruits and vegetables are also a necessary part of the dietary of every child. A green or leafy vegetable, rich in iron, lime and minerals necessary for the development of teeth and bone, ought to be on the table of every family in Bradley county every day in the

year, yet 45 rural white families had no spring gardens, 57 had no fall gardens as cabbage, collards, turnips, etc., and 41 had no gardens at all.

*Sanitation:* It is a well known fact that malaria can be controlled by preventing the breeding of certain mosquitoes and that hookworm, typhoid fever and other intestinal diseases may be materially reduced by improving sanitary conditions. In view therefore of the heavy incidence of illness and inefficiency from those diseases one might expect a concerted effort to remove their source. Questions were asked therefore as to the screening of homes, the condition of wells, toilets and the like.

Even in prosperous Warren 28 homes were practically unscreened while 212 rural homes were similarly unprotected. Among the negroes, 114 Warren homes were unscreened and out in the county, of 185 homes reported, 152 were unscreened.

There still exists in Warren the old tradition that night air, damp air or impure drinking water causes malaria yet small interest was shown in trying to maintain a safe water supply. During our stay in the county the city water was found by the State Board of Health to be contaminated by the colon bacillus and this was said to have occurred on previous occasions.

Out in the county where every house holder must be his own sanitary engineer, conditions varied. Of 483 rural white families 227 had the old fashioned dug well and of 185 rural negroes 78 reported dug wells, 4 reported springs and 61 reported no water supply whatever on the premises. Even in otherwise well equipped schools the water supply was far from satisfactory. Wells were poorly protected from surface drainage and children were drinking from a common drinking cup, from the well bucket or in two places by dipping their hands or faces into a spring.

A number of schools had no toilets or only crude facilities for the girls though there is no evidence to prove that intestinal parasites show any sex discrimination. The unsanitary privy is a constant menace to the school population and there seems no excuse for the failure of school directors to give their children this simple, decent protection from disease. Aside from the physical danger there is the demoralizing effect of failing in their daily life to live up to the prin-



ciples of hygiene and sanitation taught in their schools.

In Warren 110 white families out of 334 had sewerage connections and of 483 rural white families but six had fly proof privies, 161 having no privy at all. Of 185 Warren negroes 25 had sewerage connection and of 185 rural negroes none had fly proof privies and 121 had no privy at all.

**Health Conditions:** Health conditions as reported among negroes were too unreliable to bear reporting. Even among whites, reports were meagre as only the reputed diagnosis of a physician was credited and often there had been no physician in attendance. According to reports in Warren, measles seemed to have been the commonest disease among children, seconded by malaria; while among rural children malaria was most prevalent followed in frequency by influenza, whooping cough, pneumonia and diarrhoea.

It was a revelation to find that of 3,678 living children but 558 had been vaccinated in spite of a state law requiring a vaccination or a written exemption by a physician as a prerequisite for every child entering school. After repeated outbreaks of this disease in adjoining states it would seem the better part of wisdom to live up to this rational law for the protection of the public from such a loathsome disease.

The child bearing record of the mothers furnished excellent proof of the fact that familiarity breeds contempt. Child bearing seems such an every day occurrence that we lose sight of its significance to the community and forget that for every child born the health and perhaps the lives of two citizens are at stake. Over 16,000 women lost their lives last year in the United States from complications of childbirth. More than 250 of these were Arkansas women. Many more suffered serious impairment of their health and efficiency, much of which might have been prevented had each county done its part.

A generation ago, childbed fever, risen breast and milk leg were considered logical accompaniments of confinement just as gangrene, erysipelas and other infections were accounted inevitable concomitants of the surgical experience of soldiers during the Civil war, and malaria and typhoid fever during the Spanish war. For the soldier, however, the world has progressed. Up-to-date

knowledge and skill protect him from these early horrors but for the child-bearing woman of today, except in large cities where she is supervised before, during and after confinement, the mortality is as high today as it was twenty-five years ago. In fact more women between the ages of 15 and 45, the active years of a woman's life die from childbearing than from any other cause except tuberculosis and the death rate from that disease has been materially reduced. This may mean that the rural doctor is overworked and is not giving the same painstaking care to confinement that his predecessor gave or it may mean that the rural woman is more and more calling in the services of the untrained midwife. It is common to hear the country woman say she has "bad luck" with her children, which means that she has not been given proper instruction and suitable medical or nursing care.

For 3,678 live births reported by rural white women, there were 122 still births or one in every 30 live births, while rural negro women reported 1,515 live births and 95 still births or one in every 15. This makes an average of one still birth to every 15.9 live births as compared with one to every 45 live births which is the average for the United States as a whole according to the statistics of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. These deaths, added to the losses by abortion and miscarriage of which no record was attempted, constitute a frightful loss of life for Bradley county. It is estimated that the number of deaths during the nine months preceding birth are about equal to the number of deaths during the twelve months following birth. Demonstrations made in several of our large cities prove that by giving a reasonable amount of supervision before, during and after confinement, one-half of our infant deaths and two-thirds of our maternal deaths may be avoided. It is known that over 200,000 babies died in the United States last year under one year of age. More than 1,867 of these were Arkansas babies.

2. Midwifery. With the help of the sheriff the midwives living in the northern portion of the county were notified to meet at the court house in Warren, while those living in the southern section were called to Hermitage. Parts of the vital statistics law relating to the registration of births and deaths were read to them; they were instructed in the rudiments of cleanliness;

in the care of a baby's cord and eyes; and in the importance of calling a doctor promptly in all but perfectly normal cases of labor. Both classes seemed eager for instruction and agreed to meet for future classes.

In ancient days women in confinement were dependent upon midwives. In the South they were and are still recruited from the ranks of ignorant untrained women not at all comparable to those of foreign countries or of our eastern cities where women are trained, supervised and made capable of relieving the busy doctor by serving in normal cases of labor. It is impossible to know the number of midwives in Arkansas though Mississippi confesses to 4,000 and Virginia and South Carolina claim even more. The midwife is naturally a rural product and it is probable that Arkansas has her share though she plies her trade in such a quiet neighborly sort of way that it is impossible to check up the extent and quality of her work.

Citizens of Warren stated that the midwifery problem of the county was practically nil, yet in twenty-four hours fourteen were rounded up in one township, some of whom acknowledged having reported no births for they knew nothing of the law requiring registration. This naturally lowers the standard of a county where the physicians report unusually well. Illiterate midwives admitted that both doctors and registrars were always helpful in filling out birth certificates and it is hoped that gradually the undesirable ones may be eliminated as the demands of the county become more exacting. According to rural women, of 89 recent confinements (white),

14 or 15 per cent were delivered by midwives, and of 26 rural negroes, 14 or more than 50 per cent were delivered by midwives.

3. Children's Health Conferences. Children's health conferences were held in eight townships, sometimes in a school, again in a church and in Warren in the county court house. To these were brought supposedly well children of the rich and of the poor, well reared children and lawless youngsters, fat children and skinny children in all stages of development. They constituted a fair sample of Bradley county children and while the examinations made by a doctor and nurse from the Bureau of Child Hygiene with the assistance of local physicians, were necessarily hurried and superficial and only the most glaring defects noted, yet the following facts may be of interest.

Total number of children examined .....	314
Total number of defects .....	440
Distribution of defects:	
Malnutrition .....	92
Teeth .....	92
Throat (tonsils and adenoids) .....	70
Glands .....	58
Bones .....	57
Skin and scalp .....	39
Eyes .....	23
Ears (discharging) .....	5
Other .....	22

Few of these children had been examined before except in case of illness. Consequently many of these defects had never been discovered, though the majority of them may be easily remedied in early life.

## Progress in Town and City Programs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SHOULD THE VISITING TEACHER BE A NEW OFFICIAL?\*

ANNA B. PRATT

**P**RESENT events are moving so rapidly that sometimes, like Alice after her race with the Red Queen, we find that in spite of our efforts we have not even caught up with the place where we started. If we are conservative we console ourselves with the old adage that "History repeats itself," and we settle down to await the repetition, but if we believe in progress we realize that events are moving in many directions and that before we take farther steps we must study each path more carefully that we may take that which leads to progress and not one of those that go about in circles.

In public education our anxiety to go forward quickly has made us accept the suggestions brought by all kinds of people and we have added a course here and a new method there until the curriculum is so full that the teacher in his efforts to put the various educational ingredients together and to pour them into the little heads in the allotted time has not had a moment to look at the children. Today, thinking educators are beginning to consider directions and to that purpose are studying the child. They know that the conservatives who are waiting for the so-called education of the good old times to repeat itself will be disappointed because this twentieth century United States, in recruiting its citizens from every country of the globe and in compelling all the children within its borders to attend school, is attempting a task never before undertaken by any nation.

At the end of the last century, when Connecticut demanded compulsory education during the entire time schools were in session, it opened a new path in education whose significance is only just beginning to be realized, as the increasing enforcement of the law in our many states is

sending all kinds of nationalities and intellects into our schools.

In the old days, the only dullards who were sent to school were those whose parents valued education and even these were seldom in school long enough because the teachers were glad to get rid of them. If their homes were good, this did not mean that they were left without education. In those days the greater part of education was in the home and community. Schools specialized in reading, writing and arithmetic. Today, the schools are expected to give a "thorough education" by the same methods with the same curriculum to the healthy, tenderly nurtured child who comes from the home where he has his share in all the activities of a well-regulated family, and to the undernourished child who comes from the one-room tenement where there is no opportunity for family activities that educate and where the parents know neither the language nor the customs of the people about them.

Before the war we were beginning to be conscious of these mental and social differences, but only here and there were educators trying to evaluate them. Through the army tests we learned how apparently easy it was to find the so-called intelligence rating of large groups of people and we immediately transferred these methods to the schools. Today at every educational meeting we hear of the relative merits of this test and that; the resulting special classes and the grouping of children according to abilities. The educators who add method to method and pride themselves upon being up to date are satisfied with these classifications, but those who

\* THE JOURNAL's policy provides that wherever possible, emphasis will be placed upon the social and economic aspects of municipal administration, as well as upon the political.



are thoughtful are finding new problems. They ask that a farther examination be given to a doubtful case, and are disappointed that the individual test does not wholly explain the child. Emotional and social factors, for which there are at present no standardized tests, upset the psychologists' prognosis, which is determined by the study of the intellectual equipment of the child, but cannot forecast how he will use that equipment. The strong, vital boy, with the keenest mental tools, may make a burglar or a bank president. Perhaps the only reason he is not more often the former is because burglary does not bring the largest returns and is not permissible in our civilization. Since his education impresses this upon him, and also the fact that he cannot go far with the herd against him, a man who is determined to be rich and is not averse to stealing, will get his money in less tabooed ways. On the other hand, the sensitive timid child, with this same good intellectual equipment may become a great poet or he may draw more and more within himself until he is so entirely removed from the world that he has to be sent to a hospital for the insane. To handle these two boys in the same way and to attribute the good or bad results to heredity indicates a crude process of analysis. The sun will bake clay and melt wax, but both are useful under different treatment. As the teachers begin to see this interplay of intellectual, emotional and social characteristics and realize how necessary it is to study their relative strength if they want to teach each child as an individual, they are overwhelmed by the difficulty of securing enough information to make such teaching possible.

About twenty years ago hospital doctors had a similar problem. One patient would be cured by the same treatment which made no impression upon another and often the cured patient would return to the hospital with a recurrence of the trouble. It was Dr. Richard Cabot who called upon social workers for help and who found their coöperation of such importance that today all the best hospitals are employing them. In 1906 the situation in the schools brought the same demand for social case work. Three cities simultaneously awakened to this need—Boston, Hartford and New York. In Boston the social workers asked to do regular work in the schools from the settlements. In Hartford the request came from the

psychological clinic, and in New York, from the teachers themselves, through the settlements to the Public Education Association. The fact of this threefold beginning would seem to indicate very definitely the need of such a worker, although the progress of the movement has been slow and for a long time its significance was not recognized by social workers.

In 1917, when a century old social agency in Philadelphia wanted to learn what was being done to prevent delinquency through social work in the schools, social workers in other cities knew almost nothing of home and school visiting and Philadelphia social workers did not mention the visiting teachers of the Armstrong Association. This association, which was organized in 1907 "for the improvement of conditions of negroes in Philadelphia and environs," three years later placed their first salaried visiting teacher in a large school attended by colored children. When the White-Williams Foundation decided to take the public schools as its field of work and to use nine different types of schools for its demonstration, the Armstrong Association and the Welfare Committee of the Friends' Quarterly Meeting, which had done some work in the public schools, coöperated with the foundation. In addition to workers provided by these agencies which worked respectively in a colored and a foreign neighborhood school, the foundation placed counselors in a primary school, an elementary school, a school for special classes, a junior high school, a trade school for girls, a high school for girls and a high school for boys. Howard Institution for delinquent girls gave up its old work of rescue and contributed a salary for a worker in the Bureau of Compulsory Education, and a Roman Catholic committee employed a counselor in the parish schools to work with the White-Williams Foundation. In these schools of different types the foundation is trying to demonstrate to the public schools what is possible to do with children of all ages provided someone, who has the time and training, can give individual attention.

For the bright children who want to remain in school, but whose families need their earnings, the foundation has a scholarship fund of about \$10,000 with two counselors to administer it, and for the children who must or want to work it has organized a Junior Employment Service with five employment counselors. This part of the work

is being gradually absorbed by the Board of Public Education, which has appointed a supervisor and four employment counselors. Although the work in Philadelphia was organized later than that in the other large cities, with the exception of Rochester, N. Y., it has progressed more rapidly and it is the hope of the foundation that as soon as its technique is worked out and its value demonstrated, the work will be enlarged and will eventually include a social worker in each school, supervised and financed by the Board of Public Education.

In June, 1921, "A Survey by the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors" reported only 28 cities having 91 workers. That same year the Commonwealth Fund of New York in its "Program for the Prevention of Delinquency" offered to pay two-thirds of the salary of a visiting teacher for a three-year period in thirty different communities in the United States, and at the same time they offered, through the New York School of Social Work, fifteen yearly scholarships of \$1,200 each for the training of such workers. This year they are giving \$16,000 to the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia for the further training of school counselors. These awards of the Commonwealth Fund were made after a very careful study of the work in different communities. The fund found that social work in the schools tended to reduce juvenile delinquency. After a recent survey of the juvenile courts there has also come a recommendation for social work in the public schools. Dr. Thomas Eliot, of Northwestern University, made "a study of the unofficial treatment of predelinquent children for the juvenile courts committee of the National Probation Association." Among others, he quoted Judge Samuel D. Levy of the Children's Court of the City of New York as saying: "The problem of delinquency and anti-social conduct of children should have its intensive study in the schools, commencing in the kindergarten." In conclusion the committee suggests that "a resolution be considered registering their approval of the principle of assumption by the educational system of educational responsibility for the study and treatment of malbehavior problems as primarily educational or reëducational problems."

In 1919, the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia had an opportunity to study some of

these reëducational problems in one of the disciplinary schools. In six months the counselor there worked with 65 boys, 35 of whom were on probation and 50 had been visited by various social agencies. This opportunity to compare the work of the court, an outside agency, and the school showed the advantage of seeing the boy every day and of working with the home from the angle of the school. If the probation officer visited the home the boy was often absent; if the boy reported to the probation officer, he had none of the child's background by which he could judge of the accuracy of his report. The counselor found, by comparing notes with the probation officer, that she often had a very different picture of the child from the one which the probation officer had and as hers was gained by daily contact and by home visits, it seemed to be the more accurate of the two. With the social agencies, if there was a family crisis, the boy as an individual often escaped notice. If they did center their attention upon him, they had the same problem which the court had.

This study led the foundation to feel that if these boys in the disciplinary school could have been reached in the regular grades by a social worker in the schools instead of from social agencies or courts, in many instances the trouble might have been averted. It was therefore decided to transfer the counselor to a grade school that she might try to discover these problems in their incipient stage.

Two years before, the foundation had placed two counselors in the eighth grade of two public schools to guide vocationally the children before they left school. These counselors had found that it was impossible to separate the child's work life from his school and social life. It was necessary to know the background of each child as well as his interests and abilities before advising him about the kind of school that he should enter after graduation from the grades or whether he should go into business or industry. At the same time these counselors discovered that the children most needing advice were escaping attention by leaving school from the earlier grades. Here the problems of retardation and behavior were so interwoven with the vocational problem that it was impossible to separate them.

The crux of the problems of education, reëducation in disciplinary schools and vocational coun-



seling revealed themselves to the counselor as one and the same—the necessity for knowing the whole child, his home life, his community life and his work life, as well as his school life. Only when he is known on all these sides and when he is adjusted to them, can he become adjusted in his school life. Part of this latter adjustment involves the teacher's recognition of the child as an individual. To approximate total adjustment in all his relationships is the function of the social worker. Recently the chief of the Bureau of Compulsory Education in Philadelphia, who has sponsored the work of the counselors there since its beginning, brought out this point in addressing a meeting of principals. "It is true," he said, "that there is someone supposed to perform each of the separate functions of the school counselor or visiting teacher; the medical department for health; the attendance department for attendance and some cases of conduct; the vocational departments in many schools for vocational information; teachers and principals for behavior, but each of these sees only one thing that is the matter with the child and tries to handle it. The counselor knows the child—all of him—his assets as well as his liabilities; and it is for this reason that his function is unique and duplicates no other in the school system."

As the name implied, in the beginning of social work in the schools, the connecting of home and school through home visiting was thought by many to be the main feature of this new school function. Such mutual understanding is very necessary but it is only a tool to be used in the child's adjustment. For this reason some who are doing the work are dissatisfied with the older names of home and school visiting and visiting teaching and are using school counseling as more descriptive of the kind of treatment called for by the problems which the principals and teachers refer.

These problems as set down in the Visiting Teachers' Survey of 1921 are six; mal-adjustment in scholarship; adverse home conditions; irregular attendance; misconduct; lateness, and the physical condition of the children. In Philadelphia the problems of educational and vocational guidance are added. Underlying the other problems and often their cause is the adverse home condition. This is most often misunderstood and therefore misinterpreted by the teacher.

Children may come to school ragged and dirty, even when the father earns a sufficient wage, if he spends his money in drink or if the mother is shiftless and wastes the greater part of it. Because the teachers do not know what is back of the apparent poverty, they often lessen the responsibility of the parents by helping the children out of their own pockets. Even if they do know the cause they have not the time to labor with the parents. A teacher who valued the help of the school counselor referred such a problem to her. George was fifteen years of age in the backward grade at school. He had a dulled, overworked look and often at school in the afternoon fell asleep. He was being excused from school by special arrangement every Monday because his help was badly needed in the family. His mother, who called at school to secure this permission, bore out the general impression of extreme poverty and need. The home when visited was found to be very dirty and poorly furnished on one of the poorest streets. The father was out of work and when possible the mother was getting temporary work cleaning. The boy had been working not only Mondays but after school hours, often till 9 p. m. The mother was staunch in her assertion that the father worked whenever he could get it and that he could find none at the time on account of the employment situation. Talks with people who were acquainted with the family, with employers and with social agencies who had previously known them, showed that the father had worked only intermittently for years, though he was capable of making \$30 a week, and that he could have steady work if he would stay sober. The counselor saw the father and partly through contact established and partly through threats of reporting the situation, secured his promise to go to work and give the boy a chance in school. He even agreed for a time to keep him from working the legitimate number of hours after school, so that he might show what the boy could do. The boy formerly worked in a coal yard and his teacher watches the condition of his hands to see whether or not he has resumed work. So far the father is keeping his promise and the counselor is seeking an improvement in the boy's studies and an increased interest, not only in school but in things in general and in plans for the future.

When scholarship is poor, there seems less



excuse for referring a child to a social worker. The teacher may struggle on for days, dealing only with the situation as it presents itself in the classroom, while a social worker who studies the whole child may be able to put her finger on a physical or home condition that will quickly solve the problem.

For several weeks one small boy had been refusing to do anything that the teacher asked; he was sullen and would not answer a question. The counselor studied his school record and found just before he had begun to bother the teacher he had failed in arithmetic. She also discovered that, months before, the school physician had advised glasses, but the nurse's note telling of the situation had failed to reach the boy's home. His father was a bookkeeper and told the counselor how anxious he was that Frank should succeed in mathematics. He had no patience with his failure. The counselor saw that Frank was proud and suspected that his misbehavior was a defense reaction. As soon as the father heard that the doctor had ordered glasses he took Frank to the oculist and found that the boy's vision was so poor that he could not see the board. Glasses quickly remedied the difficulty and Frank finally confessed to the counselor: "I felt terrible about failing, but I didn't want anyone to know it." When the teacher understood what was really behind the sullen face, she cooperated with the counselor and the father in winning back the boy's self-respect. Very soon Frank was not only a success in arithmetic, but also a leader in all his work. The counselor's study of the various sides of the boy, her bringing together of the different people interested

in him and her understanding of child psychology brought results which the teacher, single-handed, could not secure.

If the progressive educators accomplish their purpose in adapting the school to the child, many of the problems of our schools will be solved by the teacher. The small classes will give the teachers time to visit and they will be well acquainted with their children and will be able to help the ordinary individual when his problem is a simple one. Unfortunately there are today still and will probably continue to be in every classroom in spite of better education the exceptional individuals, with very difficult home lives, that require the careful handling that can be given only by a counselor who is trained in social and behavior problems, and whose whole time is devoted to the work.

The courses in social work which will probably be in the future curricula of the normal schools and colleges, will make the teachers more keenly alive to such problems, but they will not qualify them to become social case workers any more than the present courses in hygiene and psychology have made them doctors or psychologists. As they now refer abnormal health and mental problems to these specialists, so they will demand the help of social workers for their serious social and behavior problems. This will make the need of a social worker in the school of tomorrow as great as it is in the school of today. Those who are studying the matter are already convinced that in the school of today the school counselor has a place that is not filled by any other school official.

## "THE COMMERCIAL THEATER AND THE 'AMATEUR'"

IMOGENE NEER

OUR amateur efforts in the theater in Paterson, New Jersey, a few years ago were directed not toward amateur theatricals but coöperation with the commercial theater. We had in the city at that time a stock company, headed by Richard Buhler who is of Ben Hur fame. Mr. Buhler's own work was thoroughly competent and artistic, and the standard to which he held his company was high. In

the theater, itself, there was every opportunity for real achievement in the drama. But the city wasn't expecting much of a stock company. Their experience was not of the most fortunate type,—stock companies in previous years had catered mostly to matinee idol-ing, and road shows were few and far between. The commercial management of the theater made no special effort to work up enthusiasm, they just

opened doors and waited for business to come in. One had the feeling of a tremendous waste of talent.

The plays that the company put on were often a notch or two above the regular stock productions, there was a memorable opening performance of "The Hawk," a version of "Sapho" that was rippling French in its humor, keen and all above board, "Lilac Time," Clare Kummer's "Good Gracious Annabelle," and others. Mainly, however, they were distinguished for their acting,—farical comedies would be tossed off with a lightness of touch that would bring them near akin to social comedy, "The Old Homestead" would be illuminated with a bit of character acting. There was much of promise and so little fulfillment. We should have liked Pinero or Jones, even "The Great Divide," and once inside the theater, these would have held the people and brought them back.

It was here we started our campaign, a two edged sort of sword that we brandished much, threatening the theater on one side, and the people on the other. And I still have faith to believe that had we been more skillful swordsmen, with more gray hairs to lend the greater dignity to our fight, and,—had we not been so geographically near New York, and—had not the fates otherwise conspired, we might have had more lasting success. As it was, we accomplished something. And because of that, and the fact that the plan still seems to me possible for cities in which there is a stock company, and more than that, because it seems to me that at least one of the ways to help the "hope" of the drama is to get behind the good big commercial theater and push, I shall put down the plan as we conceived of it.

We tried to organize the city. "We" were a group of ten who happened, all but one, to be either students or graduates of Barnard College. We had, therefore, a certain common background of ideas, especially of ideas on the drama. We lived in different parts of the city, however, some of us in the suburbs or neighboring towns. Our canvas was wide. And we were amateurish, I think, not so much in attitude as in technique.

We attacked the theater first. And gained through it entrance to the press. After that we published weekly reviews of the plays as they were presented, and on Sunday continued a series

of interviews which had been begun by the theater. In writing the reviews we tried to supplement the "form" articles run by the theater, and the reviews written by first night reporters. In Paterson these usually told the story of the play, and were indiscriminate in their praise,— "Mr. Buhler acquitted himself admirably" and so on. We could not be so radical as to write adverse criticism, but we tried for discrimination. We told always what one could or could not expect of the play, and why it in particular, seemed to us to be worth seeing. We had a sort of theory that criticism should make people subtly aware of what there was good in a performance either in the way of play writing or acting. Our idea was that it might in that way give a basis for further criticism. Adverse criticism would be taken too seriously in Paterson; the people are not used to it, and the theater is not well enough established. In some cities it might be well worth trying. We had, however, to compromise. When a play was put on for which there could be little "appreciation," we did not write at all. We kept silence.

This seemed a fair enough plan since it was the stock company as an institution in the city that we wished to recommend. We felt that it needed as much encouragement as possible, and that it could be of service to the city only in so far as it was a financial success. The managers of the commercial theaters are wary always of the "classics," and royalties on plays from among the best of the "moderns" are expensive. For either venture they need the assurance of full houses. We meant to build up patronage with the counter assurance that should we be able to create a demand for a specific play, the play would be put on. The theater was willing in almost any way to respond to our coöperation. Mr. Buhler, himself, would have liked nothing better than to play Shakespeare, and the outside manager made various offers of reduced rates for groups of people, and so on.

We organized ourselves into a committee which we called the "Patrons' Committee on Paterson Plays." We had this printed on letter heads with our names, and the slogan, "To stimulate in the city a further interest in the drama, and to secure through better patronage, better plays." This was our aim. There was something in the high sound of it all that moved us to a secret

laughing at ourselves, but outwardly, I think, we kept our dignity. Below the letter-heads we wrote many appeals and recommendations of the company to private people, and to organizations in the city, to schools, clubs, labor unions, business houses, and stores. Some of these letters we followed with interviews. Wherever this is possible, of course, it should be done. And when some member of the committee knew either the principal of a school, or the officer of a club, personally, there was informal as well as formal approach.

The schools, we thought, offered the widest possibilities because they represented not only teachers and pupils, but the families of these. They are organized, and interested in civic affairs. We wrote asking that the principals post notices which we enclosed, and that they make further announcement to their teachers and students. We gave some account of the company, where they had played, the standing that they had in the profession, the work they had done in Paterson, and the effort that Mr. Buhler had made to establish a group in the city as players capable of the best that there is in the theater. We said that Mr. Buhler would be willing to put on any play which the schools and other organizations in the city might request and that the commercial management of the theater offered special rates for groups numbering ten or more. Many of the principals answered our letters, some of them suggested to their teachers that they attend performances of the stock company to look into its possibilities, and many students became interested.

The clubs we tried to reach by adapting our appeal to the basis of their own organization. We wrote, for example, to the Woman's Club and the College Club emphasizing the civic and educational advantages afforded by the theater; to the Boy and Girl Scouts we gave just a little different turn to our recommendation; and to clubs organized mainly for social activity, we suggested theater parties only for the pleasure they might give. We wrote to Elks, Moose, Masons, and every other. We combed the newspapers for the names of them.

To the labor institute, stores, mills and other business houses we sent brief letters of recommendation and notices to be posted. We carried the policy of adaptation so far as to approach

the police force during the week of "Cheating Cheaters!" The library we asked to put on display books on the drama and to post notices. We consulted the chamber of commerce. And for the business of recommending the company to our friends, the theater had cards printed for us. These we sent out every week, signed by some member of the committee. On them we recommended a specific play, the name of which we wrote in, and which we thought might appeal to the particular person to whom the card was sent. We completed the campaign with much talking about the company to every one we met.

The campaign had its difficulties, of course. Not every idea we brought to the theater was greeted with open arms. Not every connection was made. We had particularly to regret the fumbling of our relations with the chamber of commerce which gave promise of being very valuable and helpful to us. It was a case of the theater's putting off and putting off until there was no point in putting through. And we had further difficulty in that, working as we did without a firm enough organization behind us, we had no capital at all. We found, of course, that no amount of voluntary labor could make up for that deficit. We needed letters typed, posters printed, any number of little things done for us, and on time!

We suffered, too, I think, through our inexperience. We were a little scared or shy or something, afraid to ask of the theater as much as we might have. We felt ourselves intruders, we appreciated their courtesy and I think we might rather have forced issues with them occasionally. We did and said many things, I think, which the more experienced would not have dared, which we ourselves would not dare at this three year's distance, but there were places where we were diffident. We could, for instance, have had many more passes for the asking. And we needed these. We needed to get people inside the theater before our propaganda could become effective and our company established. The same diffidence kept us from forcing issues and tickets on clubs as pointedly as we might have done. And this was complicated by the fact that we evolved the plan as we worked it out. We had never thought of it before. It was executed only in the "rough draft," therefore, and needed much working up in detail.



We were at a great advantage, of course, in that our company was really worth the recommending. I have become the more and more convinced of that as I have watched companies in other cities since our venture. Mr. Buhler's work was exceptional. There was a clear line of beauty in it always, a poetic turn, a feeling out of the "mood" of the character,—intelligent acting. And when Mr. Buhler directed a play himself, or re-directed it, as he did "Sapho," there was in the production a rhythmic movement, almost like the beat of music.

Work of so high a quality is unusual, I know, even in New York where all pains can be taken, time and money spent. But if we were fortunate in having Mr. Buhler, we were unfortunate, I think, in many other respects. There was our

geographical nearness to New York, the fewness of our gray hairs, at that time, and the tradition of the theater in the city. The last remained complicated with the commercial policy of the theater which made its sporadic attempts to ruin the season with the production of an unnamable play during the very week in which we had hoped for at least "The Great Divide."

We have, however, always to thank every one in the theater for courtesy, and, I think, well-meaning. With the plan worked out more and more in detail some other group in some other city might, I should think, really accomplish something for the "hope" of the drama, as much, indeed, as may be accomplished with the purely amateur group. Here, of course, is luck to them!

## THE NORTH CAROLINA MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION

T. B. ELDRIDGE

**A**FTER some years of make-believe existence, the North Carolina Municipal Association has an organization as well as a name. The transition from the nebulous to the substantial took place at a meeting held in Raleigh on the 12th of December last. Prior to that time, and dating back to the close of the World war period, small gatherings of municipal officials met at irregular intervals, usually in response to a warning of danger or a signal of distress. By and by it became apparent that a body of uncertain personnel, without charter or constitution, without roll of membership, without records, without dependable sources of income, could not function effectively or serve municipalities acceptably. Then came an awakening, and then a reorganization.

At the December meeting two plans of organization were presented: one in outline, the other in workable form. The latter won favorable consideration though it failed to recognize certain features in the plan first mentioned that might have been incorporated to advantage. An admirable statement of purpose is contained in Article 2, which is here quoted:

"The purpose of this association is to study the needs of the towns and cities of North Carolina, and to recommend improved and modern

methods of municipal government; to elevate municipal ideals and more efficient municipal practices in the state; to hold conferences at which views and experiences may be exchanged by city and town officials; to develop a coöperative approach to all municipal problems of statewide import; to encourage in the citizens of North Carolina a more sympathetic appreciation of the duties, responsibilities, and rights of towns and cities; to secure the enactment of legislation that will enable all the towns and cities of the state to perform their functions more efficiently, to enable them to oppose the passage of laws that may cripple the cities in their growth and development; to bring to the municipal problems of North Carolina that united understanding and intelligence which will facilitate their solution and advance the welfare of the people of the entire state of North Carolina."

Membership in the association consists of towns and cities; but the constitution fails to indicate what officials are eligible to represent them, or how many persons are entitled to credentials, or how the expense of attending meetings is to be provided for. Associate membership, on the other hand, is to consist of persons. It is presumed that these matters will receive attention later.

Expenses of the association are provided for in the following schedule of membership fees, which are payable annually:

1. The annual dues of this association shall be as follows:

Towns of over 30,000 inhabitants, per annum.....	\$70.00
Towns over 25,000 and under 30,000 inhabitants, per annum .....	60.00
Towns over 20,000 and under 25,000 inhabitants, per annum .....	50.00
Towns over 15,000 and under 20,000 inhabitants, per annum .....	40.00
Towns over 10,000 and under 15,000 inhabitants, per annum .....	30.00
Towns over 5,000 and under 10,000 inhabitants, per annum .....	20.00
Towns under 5,000 inhabitants, per annum.....	10.00

It is presumed that membership fees will be paid out of municipal funds without express authority in the city and town charters. The dues of associate members are ten dollars a year.

Organization was perfected by election of officers as follows:

President: Gallatin Roberts, Asheville.

Vice-Presidents: D. M. Clark, Greenville; T. B. Eldridge, Raleigh; R. W. Rigsby, Durham.

Secretary-Treasurer: Willard Dowell, Raleigh.

The executive committee consists of the officers, with W. H. Holcomb, Winston-Salem; P. C. Painter, Greensboro; and Lionel Weil, Goldsboro.

Promotion of legislation favorable to municipalities and opposition to measures calculated to affect them injuriously are outstanding objectives of the Municipal Association. The legislative program for the 1923 session of the general assembly embraces the following features:

1. Authority to place group insurance on city employees. Protection of firemen and policemen is the primary object of the bill, but its provisions are broad enough to include all classes of persons in municipal employment. The authority contemplated is permissive and discretionary.

2. Authority for excess condemnation of property for public purposes. Under the provisions of this measure, for instance, all of a lot or plot of ground may be condemned for street purposes when less than the whole is required. The obvious effect is to place the city in a position of

advantage, whereas otherwise it might be at the mercy of land owners or real estate speculators. The land condemned in excess of actual needs will, of course, be sold, but the city will be able to make advantageous terms.

3. Authority to create assessment benefit zones, which will embrace property adjacent, but not necessarily adjoining, a public improvement. A case in point is the opening of a street which may enhance the value of property in the vicinity. Widening a street or otherwise improving it often results in benefit to land that would be relieved from contributing its share of the burden unless the city were clothed with the power proposed by the bill.

4. Amendment of the City Planning Act, (which at present applies only to the counties of Buncombe, New Hanover, and Wake) by requiring maps of real estate developments within the area prescribed by the planning commission's authority, to be approved by the commission before being admitted to registration. The object is to prevent the laying out of streets and lots in disregard of orderly and systematic expansion of the city.

5. Enactment of a standard state zoning enabling act. This is a bill prepared by the zoning experts of the National Department of Commerce. It is most carefully drawn and is designed to meet the zoning requirements of both cities and towns. It may become applicable to any municipality that will adopt it by the passage of an ordinance to that effect.

6. Repeal of laws by which municipal governments are forbidden to impose license taxes on a numerous group of occupations, trades, and professions that are taxed by the state. It does not appear that there is any reason for such exemptions from city and town taxes other than that sufficient influence has been brought to bear on legislative committees to obtain privileges that others no better and no worse than the beneficiaries are not permitted to share. The existing laws, which are flagrant examples of class legislation, deprive municipalities of a very considerable amount of revenue which is justly due to them, without any possible advantage to the state government.

7. Approval given to a bill proposing to enable municipalities to engage in public recreation and to provide means for its successful prosecution.

8. Enactment of law regulating motor transportation of passengers. The bill limits weights of cars, provides for making rates of charges for service, and prescribes the method for determin-

ing amounts of license taxes and divisions of same between cities and counties.

9. Amendment of highway commission act so as to require improving, at state expense, of highways traversing city streets.

10. Amendment to state constitution directing fines, penalties and forfeitures collected in city courts to be paid into municipal treasuries.

### THE ENLARGED CITY MANAGERS ASSOCIATION

*Students of municipal affairs and administrative officials will rejoice in the coming of THE CITY MANAGER'S MAGAZINE, the official organ of the City Manager's Association. It has begun a fine service and promises much. The headquarters of the Association and of the MAGAZINE are at Lawrence, Kansas, and the editor is John G. Stutz, who is also the new secretary of the Association.*

*THE JOURNAL is glad to present in a subsequent issue a special discussion by Mr. Stutz.*



## The Work of Women's Organizations

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOCIAL WORK OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CHURCHES

#### I. METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH

BERTHA PAYNE NEWELL

**B**EFORE attempting any summary of the organized social work of Southern church women one fact should be noted and given the attention it merits. All womens' organizations for social welfare have been initiated by women whose desires to better social conditions have been developed in the churches under the constant teaching of the Golden Rule. Further, the ranks in undenominational welfare organizations are continually recruited from the churches. From the earlier days of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Red Cross and the Associated Charities, the Travelers' Aid, down to the more recent Parent-Teacher Associations, Civic Betterment Leagues, and the social and civic department's of women's clubs the history is the same.

All these agencies have been born of kindly impulses. In them we recognize the fruition of religious teaching. They bear two of the fundamental marks of religion deep in their foundation, namely, devotion to a high purpose, and loyalty binding individual wills to a common aim. While these agencies have been doing noble, pioneer service outside church lines they have received publicity, moral and financial support within the churches, many indeed have been aided by collections taken up in the church services.

With that understanding we will dismiss for the present this class of social agencies and turn to those developed in the church, financed by the church, and existing under church government, selecting for this discussion a resumé of the social work of the woman's missionary organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South which is typical of other denominations. Through

this we may gain some comprehensive idea of the extent of church activities of this sort if we regard the work here presented as merely one of the factors whose value is the relative numerical strength of the Methodist Church South.

Very early in the history of the Home Mission Society of this church—organized about thirty-two years ago—its leaders felt the necessity of ministering to the whole being of those to whom they were carrying an evangelistic message. Indeed this belief is a tradition in the Methodist church dating back to its founder, John Wesley, who in the eighteenth century, established day schools, vocational schools, employment agencies, day nurseries, orphanages, medical dispensaries, and even a college. It is not strange, then that a body of Methodist women in organizing for missions should have so strongly emphasized education, child welfare, sanitation, housing, health, recreation and the improvement of social and economic conditions. This work has been carried on in remote rural areas, mountain coves, mining camps, industrial communities and city neighborhoods, where overcrowding, disease, ignorance, poverty, and vice make the condition of the under-privileged a lamentable commentary on our vaunted Christian civilization, and show us the long, long way we must travel before our democracy has made good its connotation of well being.

The territory covered by this church organization takes in all the Southern states, California, a group of states in the extreme northwest and Illinois.

The unit of organization is the missionary society of the local church, from which delegates are sent to district and conference annual meetings. The president and secretary of these an-

nual conference societies are sent to an annual council meeting, as voting representatives of the local church societies. At this council meeting reports are received from all enterprises, new ventures are recommended, the finances of the year reviewed and estimates presented for the ensuing year. The other controlling factor is found in the administrative secretaries, who supervise the institutions supported by the funds accumulated in the local churches; issue literature, and assign workers.

This brief description of the machinery by which the work is carried on is given because it is believed that one reason for the extraordinary growth, both in variety and extent of the work has been due to the element of democracy by which women leaders, drawn from all parts of the South have shaped the work by their votes, which in turn were given direction by their insight and intimate knowledge of local conditions in their respective territories. Similarly they have carried back to these local territories such an account of the breadth and significance of this pooling of money and effort, that the women "back home" have been thrilled, as with a draught of a great adventure. As they have thus been kept in touch with the transformations being wrought in the lives of hundreds of human beings, through the transmutation of their contributions into terms of human betterment they have felt that even in their far-off comfortable homes they touched the strands from which are being spun and woven the fabric of lives made safer, cleaner more hopeful; in mill town, mountain cabin, city tenement, immigrant home, mining shack or the bayou cottage of Louisiana.

Twelve years ago the Home and Foreign Missionary Societies united to form this Missionary Council, the funds are pro rated between the Home and Foreign Work in the proportion of 40 to 60 per cent. In 1921 \$603,860.14 was expended in Home Missions. It would be impossible to separate the amount of this sum devoted to distinctly social work, in the form of schools, settlements, industrial centers, kindergartens, etc. It is safe to state, however, that the proportion is largely on that side.

#### SCHOOLS

There are five schools supported by the council. Brevard Institute is located at Brevard,

N. C., in one of the lovely and fertile valleys of Blue Ridge. This is a coeducational school, originally designed to give a high school and semi-vocational training to mountain boys and girls. There is a farm of eighty acres, comprising orchard, vineyard, and garden sufficient to raise food for the school use and to give the students a laboratory for agricultural instruction and demonstration. The girls have courses in domestic science and household arts, and there is some instruction in normal work. It had on its roll in 1921 two hundred and one pupils.

Sue Bennett School at London, Kentucky, performs a similar function in the hill country of that state. It has an enrollment of about five hundred and furnishes eighty-five per cent of the teachers for the public schools of the surrounding counties. The state issues certificates to the normal course graduates. The school has done much for the young people of that part of the state in offering culture courses otherwise inaccessible to them.

Holding Institute at Laredo, Texas, enrolled four hundred students in 1921-22. The student body is predominantly Mexican, having but sixteen Anglo-Saxon pupils last year. This school is preparing to fulfill the state requirements for normal training for its students.

Vashti Industrial School, Thomasville, Georgia, is designed to take dependent girls, who for various reasons are ineligible to enter orphanages. So great is the need for schools of this description that during one year for every one admitted many were turned away. The record of those who have left the school is good. One hundred and thirty-one girls were enrolled in 1921-22.

Paine College Annex, Augusta, Georgia, is a school for negro girls of high school and college grade. Two hundred and seven were enrolled last year. The graduates take positions of dignity and influence as teachers and many become trained nurses after graduation, thus becoming a social factor in the uplift of their race.

Perhaps the most far-reaching school in its influence is the well-known Scarritt Bible and Training School located at Kansas City. This school gives elementary and advanced courses in sociology and conducts laboratory and field work in the social welfare institutions of Kansas City. Students may fit themselves as kindergartners, nurses, music teachers, in connection with their

other training. Four years college work or its equivalent are required for admission to the regular course which covers two years. The school has grown to the point where further graduate courses such as may be had only at a university are imperative, which will necessitate a change of location in the near future.

#### OTHER EDUCATIONAL WORK

Daily Vacation Bible Schools. There are fifteen of these schools which give religious instruction to children and also some training in singing, games and handwork for periods of from two to six weeks.

Night schools. These form a feature of the settlements, industrial centers, and institutional church work.

#### SETTLEMENTS

Thirty-two centers for community work are maintained with the various designations of settlement, community center, and industrial center. Beginning at the point farthest to the southeast we find settlements at Key West, Ybor City and Tampa, Florida. In these centers are maintained kindergartens, day nurseries, night schools, domestic science classes, mothers' clubs, girl scouts, and music classes. A clinic is supported at Tampa in which 2,000 patients were treated last year. In this area about forty-five thousand people work in or are dependent on the cigar factories. A school is maintained at Key West for sixty children who are shut out from the public school because of overcrowding.

Work farther along the Gulf Coast is found at Mobile, New Orleans, Biloxi, and in the French Arcadian parishes of Terre Bonne and La Fourche. St. Mark's Hall, New Orleans, has a new building of Spanish mission architecture planned to serve the community of about thirty thousand persons, in which Italians, French and Spanish predominate. Five trained workers in this center are supported by the Woman's Missionary Council. Four thousand people passed through its clinic last year.

At the Wesley Community House, Biloxi, four trained workers minister to the workers in the shrimp and oyster canning industry. These migrant workers are among those seasonal groups most difficult to reach by educational and social influences.

Perhaps the most unique social settlement in the United States is the MacDonell Wesley House at Houma, Louisiana. It is located on a beautiful tract of twenty acres of rich farming land, has farm cottage, pecan grove and poultry house. The residents reach their neighbors, living miles up and down the bayou by means of a Ford car. These workers supply the need of friendship for a large rural population in its market town. Because of the ignorance, the isolation, the poverty and the superstition and religious bigotry that are the conditions under which the people live there is plenty of work to be done in this crowded country parish.

The Ensley Community Center at Birmingham, Alabama, is located on property of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, and is largely supported by the women of local Methodist churches. Various lines of community service are carried on here, including the usual club work, kindergarten, clinic, mothers' club and playground work. The people surrounding the center are largely Italians.

There are nine social enterprises among cotton mill workers located at Charlotte, N. C., Orangeburg and Spartanburg, S. C., Atlanta, and Augusta, Ga., Danville, Va., and Meridian, Miss. Other social centers are maintained at Baltimore, Md., Portsmouth, Roanoke and Richmond, Va., Montgomery, Ala., Chattanooga, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Knoxville, and Memphis, Tenn., Louisville and Lexington, Ky., St. Louis, St. Joseph, and Kansas City, Mo., Dallas, Fort Worth, Waco, Houston, Thurber, and San Antonio, Texas, San Francisco and Los Angeles, Cal.

In all of the above there are trained resident social workers who with more or less local volunteer aid carry on the activities usually considered necessary in social settlements, in the promotion of recreation, health, education and social relationships.

The work of the coal mining districts deserves some especial mention. At Hartshorne and Wilburton, Okla., the local Methodist women, assisted by the Missionary Council, have supported workers who minister to both American and immigrant miners and their families. Centenary funds have recently provided a large institutional church which now houses the work. To quote from the report of Mrs. J. W. Downs, the ad-



ministrative secretary, "It has taken time and effort to bring the foreign people to realize that the beautiful new institution was built for them and the workers appointed to serve them . . . the people of all denominations of this town are intensely interested in the appointment of a trained worker to serve the foreign people of the community in a definite way." We quote from Mrs. J. H. McCoy, administrative secretary of the Gulf States and Eastern Division, "No work in this division sends in a more ringing note of optimism than Bluefield district. Six workers are now in the field and eight workers are asked for."

Much of the work in Texas is done for and with the Mexicans, who have poured over the border by thousands in the last few years, and who form the bulk of laborers, both urban and rural, in many sections. Home-making, health and hygiene instruction, among women and girls and clubs and classes for girls and boys, with day nurseries and kindergartens for the little ones are prominent features.

In California a large work of similar character is carried on among Japanese and Koreans, along with the distinctively evangelistic work done in churches and missions.

#### NEGRO WORK

In addition to the work done at Paine Annex there are three negro settlements called "Bethlehem Houses" at Augusta and Macon, Ga., and at Nashville, Tenn.; a colored community center at Chattanooga, a colored public health nurse at Portsmouth, paid by the City Mission Board, and another at work in the cities and towns of South Carolina under state supervision whose salary is paid by the Missionary Council. It is hoped that this experiment will be the means of extending health service to negro homes under state support. In Nashville a plan of coöperation is being worked out with Fisk University, whereby the settlement will furnish a social laboratory for students majoring in sociology. This waits upon the completion of a "new Bethlehem House" to be built with centenary funds.

#### IMMIGRATION WORK

At Galveston, Texas, a port missionary is maintained who "places many people in position

to earn their living, investigates the cases of many who are doubtful, assists in getting passports and naturalization papers, translates letters, visits sick immigrants, attends to the baptism, marriage and burial of those of any nationality. He speaks a number of languages and coöperates with the government in the work of this department. His influence is felt in the offices of the United States immigration inspection."

#### CO-OPERATIVE HOMES

Six coöperative homes are maintained under council supervision where women and girls may have a home under Christian influence, with home like surroundings and within their means. These are located at San Francisco, Waco, Tex., Lexington, Ky., Birmingham, Ala., Richmond, Va., and Savannah, Ga.

#### RESCUE HOMES

The Virginia K. Johnson Home and School, Dallas, Tex., is a comparatively large institution. Girls admitted here receive definite academic and industrial training. A modern laundry and kitchen furnish laboratories for domestic science under the teaching of trained teachers. The actual work of the home is done here also by the girls. A manager, house physician, nurse, and teachers of literature, art, dressmaking, and business complete the faculty. Young women are required to remain here until they are able to earn their living and have established a Christian character.

The Door of Hope, Macon, Ga., is a smaller institution of the same character as the above and correlated with it. The Door of Hope in addition to relieving individual human needs has the following program:

1. Upholding the single standard by fixing the responsibility of fatherhood and of fatherhood's obligations.
2. Protection of the helpless by prosecution of the criminal, where there has been crime.
3. Patient investigation of the causes that lead to the moral tragedy of each young mother.
4. Compilation of the facts thus discovered, with the constructive purpose in view of using the information to protect motherhood and childhood.

## CITY MISSION BOARDS

Many of the settlements, homes, centers, and other institutions while under the supervision of the Woman's Missionary Council, are partially or wholly financed and managed by local boards. Until recently these boards were composed exclusively of the Methodist women of the several churches of the city. They have been so reorganized as to include both men and women members, thus throwing the responsibility upon men and women jointly, making, it is hoped, for greater security and for a soundness of policy engendered by the incorporation of both the man's and woman's point of view, and experience. This explanation is made along with the statement that the initiation, and for a long period of years, the administration of the City Mission Boards rested with women's organizations.

## BUREAU OF SOCIAL SERVICE

This bureau, under the supervision of a council superintendent, is designed to stimulate interest in social conditions and to assist the women of the local missionary societies in bringing about social reforms. The work of the bureau is in the nature of an educational propaganda. It is our hope that through the informing of even a small portion of the woman membership of the church concerning social and economic needs, we may reach the larger number, and inspire them with a desire to make their Christianity a vital, reorganizing social force in their communities.

Quarterly studies are issued which are sent out to the local missionary society where they are placed in the hands of the Social Service Superintendents who study them with their committees and from them prepare programs on the given topic which they present to the whole society.

Some of the topics studied are listed as follows:

The Adolescent Boy and Girl, at Home, at School, in the Community, in Industry.

Dependents, Delinquents, Defectives and Their Institutional Care.

Democracy: In Industry, in the Church, in Society.

The Rural Community: Tenancy, Rural Schools, Rural Recreation.

The Family: Nutrition and Wage Scales,

Sanitation and Housing, the Family as a Social Unit. Broken Homes.

Social Evangelism: Local Self-Government, and the Citizen's Responsibility, Faith and the State, or Personal Work for a Christian Interpretation of Government, Coöperation Between Voluntary and Governmental Agencies for Public Welfare.

Our Community: What It Needs, Faith and International Ideals.

These studies involve investigation of local provisions and conditions.

In addition to study the Bureau seeks to help the women relate themselves as a church group to the various welfare and civic agencies of their communities and states, stimulates them to discover gaps and weak places, and either to initiate organizations to fill in the needs or to place responsibility on the proper organizations and authorities.

## COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONSHIP

The most recent social enterprise of the Woman's Missionary Council is the Commission on Race Relationships. This commission was created in 1920 and has begun a work so distinctive and so far-reaching in its implications that a discussion of it is reserved for a subsequent article. Its work is planned by the commission of six women under the leadership of Mrs. Luke Johnson, who is also Director of Women's Work for the General Commission on Inter-Racial Coöperation, with headquarters at Atlanta, Ga.

From its inception this work has reached the local societies through the Bureau of Social Service in a manner similar to the other work sketched above.

The sentiment for social service has so spread through this church that every local church has its social service committee. Every conference has its Board of Social Service. The General Conference has established a Commission on Social Service, and this is all correlated with the Commission on Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The Methodist church works in full accord with the social creed put forth by this commission, having incorporated it in its discipline, as a basis for social service activities.

The women of the church bear their full share in the larger activities of the church along this line in addition to the work described in this paper.

# The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

## Editorial Notes

### *Democracy and Life*

A continuation of THE JOURNAL'S original statement with reference to its contribution toward *making democracy effective in the unequal places* promises that "it will strive to touch the quickening social life about us. It will tend to emphasize movement, action, processes, forces."

In compliance with this general idea its first numbers have included contributions appropriate to this purpose and the editorial notes of the January JOURNAL began the discussion of a six-fold democracy corresponding to the six major institutional modes through which our modern social life seems to develop. In the January series were discussed *organic democracy*, *educational democracy*, and *religious democracy*, leaving for this issue the discussion of *political*, *industrial*, and *social* democracy, and the relation of democracy, on the one hand, to public welfare, and on the other hand to the Ku-Klux-Klan. In another and special issue the editorial notes will be devoted to a discussion of the very vital relation between social work and the attainment of an enacted and effective democracy, giving certain broader interpretations to social work and supporting the discussion with definite lists of objective evidences. In all these discussions the primary purpose is not to attempt any exhaustive treatment, but to discuss certain neglected aspects and to lay the foundation in theoretical preliminary statements for the work and policies of THE JOURNAL in its future practical contacts with and contributions to social life and progress.

In the contemplation of these vital relationships many passages from the remarkable letters of the late Walter Hines Page, discussed elsewhere in this issue, seem timely and stimulating. Concerning pure democratic theories, for instance, he writes: "You feel despair about the breakdown of certain democratic theories which I think were always theories. Let 'em go. The real

thing, which is life and action, is better." And his democratic "creed" which in his later years tended to consume all of his time and energies, evaluated the manifestations of democracy apparently in the order of educational, agricultural, industrial, social and political.

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### *Political Democracy*

Our emphasis upon the fact that democracy is not all political recalls Mr. Page's emphatic belief that "the mere right to vote and to hold office was not democracy; parliamentary majorities and political caucuses were not democracy—at best these things were only details and not the most important ones." These aspects were discussed in the January JOURNAL under the heading of "Neglected Factors." And while it is important to recognize the fact that political democracy is only a part of the whole structure, it must be remembered that government is the center around which other aspects revolve and through which, technically at least, they may be attained. As in the case of other aspects of democracy discussed in these notes, only two phases will be touched upon at this time, and relate, of course, to the primary plan of THE JOURNAL. The first of these has to do with the obligation of government to serve the social needs of the people and is treated in an admirable manner by Professor Dealey in this number of THE JOURNAL in his article on the relation of government to sociology and social progress. In this issue also emphasis in the Municipal Program Department is upon social programs. It is sufficient here, therefore, simply to emphasize the importance of the fact that the economic and social aspects of governmental administration are closely tied up with the financial and technical considerations, and that through the working out of these correlations progress will be achieved. The second aspect of political democracy to be emphasized is the increasing recognition of the importance of the relation between community and government, both in the objective goals to be attained, and in the subjective means of attainment. In this connection it is sufficient here to point out the trend of recent study and work in political science toward local government, in the larger and better sense of American representation. And for the



purpose of studying and promoting social progress there is vast significance to this more modern turn. In both the aspects of political democracy discussed—service of government to the social needs and its relation to community—much of the final considerations will be found in the technique and organization of public welfare, the discussion of which, begun in the last issue, will be concluded in subsequent notes.

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### *Industrial Democracy*

Of the two aspects of industrial democracy stressed at this time, the first relates to the neglect in the past of industry and work as an institution alongside the home and family, the church and religion, the state and government, and the school and education. Why should we express surprise that industrial strife, misunderstandings, mal-adjustment as between capital and labor, should arise when we have consistently—government and society in general—refused to deal with so fundamental a part of life except in terms of the individual. We may not all vote or take active part in the institution of government; we may not all be members of the church; we may not all go to school; we may not all establish homes and families; but we all have to work. For work is a law of life and growing up around it has developed one of the greatest institutions of society and it must so be considered in any attempt to render justice and opportunity in an all round democracy. Industrial democracy, however, is no more all of democracy, or the panacea for all mal-adjustments, than is political or educational democracy. And it is just as far from the truth to affirm that industrial democracy as a complete system of government will bring the greatest happiness as it was absurd to neglect it altogether. For the purpose of these notes and of THE JOURNAL industrial democracy is interpreted, then, in a specialized and partial sense, as one of the fundamental and organic parts of the whole structure of democracy, without which equal opportunity may not be attained; and not as a complete system of industrial government. Industrial democracy becomes, in this sense, an adjective, qualifying the greater democratic government, representative of all the people and of all the interests and qualities of life. There is

a second aspect of industrial democracy which THE JOURNAL will find in the forefront of its efforts and of its studies often. There is unanimity everywhere, I believe, that the problem of the readjustment of life and labor as between capital and labor is one of the world social problems of the day. To work out readjustments of permanent value constitutes a challenge and an opportunity unsurpassed. In the South there are opportunities to blaze new trails before congested industrial conditions rush us into the time beaten paths and sufferings of other sections. THE JOURNAL has set itself to the task of studying these conditions and opportunities and will bide its time for facts and results. But at the present time, it seems that the only way to attain better results will be through the mode of industrial democracy as touched upon above, and as outlined further in the later notes on the relation of social work to democratic programs.

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### *Social Democracy*

The boast that there are no closed classes in American democracy has long constituted one of the main tenets of our system. That is, we have claimed that worth, achievement, growth, character, were the primary bases upon which American manhood might expect to build final structures. And we have cited the Lincoln of rural boyhood and of American leadership and of international statesmanship as typical. This is, of course, true in the ideal and in the theory. In practice—both as it has always worked out and as it must always work out—there are noted inconsistencies. There are the organic facts of fundamental differences in age, sex, race, mental inheritance. These will, of course remain. But there need not remain the inconsistencies that have always brought injustice in the wake of each of these organic differences. And these organic differences, likewise, explain away purported injustices that may not have existed at all in practical attainable status, although appearing, in pure theory out of perspective, to be glaring examples of the failure of democracy. This is one aspect of "social democracy" to which THE JOURNAL will look for constant facts, study and research, as well as attempting contributions of experiment and work. A second aspect of so-

cial democracy emphasized is negative, similar to the first of the points discussed in industrial democracy. It is the failure in the past to consider the community as an institution alongside the other major institutional modes of life. "Community, Maker of Men" is the title of an article in the current number of *The Survey*, by Mr. Joseph Lee. And he might have added "The Community, Breaker of Men" where the community, through its various neglects and wrong activities has undone the work of home, school, government and church. The community must be an institution, comprehensive of the miscellaneous, the left overs, the social acts, aspirations, local, national, international fellowship, through which men live, move, and have their being. "Social democracy" will always be a failure until each community will underwrite its part, as an institution, in bringing to pass the democratic ideals of government, that each individual, coming to the community with certain full fledged abilities and qualities, may then have an opportunity to grow to the fullest normal development; that abnormal limitations may be reduced to the minimum. The further discussion of this must be continued in the notes on public welfare, and in the later notes on social work and democracy.

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### *A Last Step in Democracy*

In the January volume of *The Annals*, a review of which is presented in this number of THE JOURNAL by Dr. Ellen Potter, the new Commissioner of Public Welfare in Pennsylvania, we raised the question as to whether "Public Welfare" is not the last step in a working democracy. The question was stated also negatively: If not public welfare—as a technique and an organization of government to minister to the socially deficient and to prevent the further unequal places; or to supplement the services of education, health, safety, and the others—if not public welfare, then what will be the final step to which we may look? We are constantly seeking "next steps"; there must be, in the organization of government for service to the people, a final stage in democratic structure, which shall meet the challenge of growing complex social and industrial conditions. This principle may be illustrated by comparison with the first stage of

our American democracy. In the earlier days, the establishment of a constitution and form of government gave form and power to the ideals of justice and opportunity expressed by the forefathers in coming to America. Had they remained content simply with philosophies, ideals, dreams of democracy, without the establishment of a definite organization, there would have been no American democracy as we have it. In somewhat the same way, now that complex industrial conditions, the growth of cities, the increase of populations, the complex problems of immigration, the unequal places of rural areas, and the tremendous momentum of invention and discovery, have transformed the entire situation, there must be definite organization to give form and power to the remarkable array of governmental and legislative provisions enacted to make democracy effective. But no centralized state or nation can bring to pass the facts of justice and opportunity by the mere enactment of statutes; and no centralized state and nation, in such vast areas and population and complexities, can interpret and enforce its ideals through legislation. The task is physically impossible; it violates the principle of civic participation in government. There must be, therefore to this modern situation organization and technique which will guarantee local units the necessary technique and organization to make effective the ideals now on legislative books, just as formerly it was necessary to put in form the ideals not then in legislation or constitution. Public welfare offers this hope.

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### *Economy and Public Welfare*

There is a second aspect of public welfare that needs to be stressed at this time. It is the very important relation between the problems of public welfare and the expenditure of the state's moneys. No student of modern government will doubt the wisdom of classifying with governmental efforts a division of public service upon which approximately one fifth of the total state appropriations are expended. The ratio of appropriations expended for all aspects of public welfare—services to the socially deficient—ranges from approximately 33 per cent in Massachusetts and New Jersey to lesser amounts in other states. Michigan reports approximately 25

per cent, as does Kansas and South Dakota; 20 per cent or more for Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Texas; while Wisconsin reports 17 per cent, Indiana, 19 per cent; Virginia, 18 per cent; New York, 16 per cent (although expending more than 22 millions). Surely no honest student of government will doubt the advisability of working out more effective organization and technique for bringing about a greater service and economy in the expenditure of these moneys.

If on the other hand the efficient organization and administration of public welfare can actually save the government money at the same time that it increases its efficiency in connection with its other divisions of service—public education, public health, agriculture and others—the appeal for recognition and progress will be two-fold.

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### *The State Department of Public Welfare*

IN THE JOURNAL'S Library and Workshop, introducing the directory of departments of public welfare in the several states, the goal is set for "An effective Department of Public Welfare for every state in the union." It is very clear that the old "Charities and Corrections" have been transcended by the newer, reasonable, democratic, constructive and preventive, as well as remedial, service to all the people within the state's domain. The state department of public welfare offers the next step. And yet it is surprising to note to what extent not only people in general, but students of public affairs and government, still refuse to consider the necessities of the case. Distinguished educators, still satirizing the American people, and especially those of the South, because they refused to hasten the day of public education, and because they considered its nature to be that of charities, still talk and think and write of public welfare in terms of charity and "welfare" and the sentimental care of the unfortunates. Taking for granted the standards of organization for other state departments, spending much less of the state's money, and affecting far less of the public weal, they still ignore the greater cause of public welfare or relegate its cause, its workers, its officials, to an outside and inferior group, sentimentally inclined, unhappily misled, forerunners of a new order unworthy of the old. And still they write nobly of democracy which shall render

equal opportunity to every one, even "the least of these."

In the January *Annals* previously referred to, the writer has set forth certain "Attainable Standards for State Departments of Public Welfare." The form or organization follows closely that of the North Carolina plan, with certain variations after the manner of the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts and other plans. The analogy of the uniformity of state and county departments of public education is emphasized and the way is pointed to ways and means of uniform state departments, with county units, in every state. Such a step looks, not to the increasing of expenditures, but to the relative decrease and economies desired, and especially to the rendering of democratic services through duly organized governmental efforts, properly localized.

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### *The Ku Klux Klan and the People*

Turning now to other and different currents of life which affect the ideals and enactment of American democracy, perhaps it would be difficult to find better examples of the inequalities among people, in thought, in education, in susceptibility to leadership of various sorts, in the genuine desire for worthy expression of emotions and motives, and in misguided tendencies, and in the manifestations of stages of ignorance and of intellectual processes, than in this latter day phenomenon of the white robed censors of men. They, too, represent part of the people. They are minorities real enough and active enough to challenge whatever attention may be given them. Their members are among us. They are fathers and brothers and American citizens with representative rights; with potential through their children of this and the next generations of intellectual and social progress or of other possibilities. They are of the folks "folksy," and in proportion as they fail American democracy and civilization fail. Yonder they live lonely where the "low footfall of God by the river side" hallows the day. Yonder they plow where the "gigantic smile o' brown old mother earth" enriches human spirit. Yonder they toil midst the spindles and hum of machinery. Yonder they dig beneath the earth. Yonder are the mothers of men, with little children, asking in some blind



aspiring way: "How shall we make of these the great inheritance?" Yonder are the fathers of youth hoping for a chance to make them men and women of the new day. Have they had the chance to interpret vital issues? Have they had reading, and schooling, and contacts, and liberal institutions? Have the institutions stood by them in their time of growth and stress, or have some of the institutions—school or church or government or community or industry—failed them in their time of need? Do their present action, judgment, emotional crowd tendencies represent the potential values which they hold for future best development? Ought we not, rather, to judge the professional leaders and self appointed officials, and turn upon them the critical faculties of an educated democracy, while directing to the greater groups the sympathetic consideration through which our democratic institutions may function in larger and more effective ways?

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### *Pathetic Inconsistencies*

The sincere inconsistencies of many and the unprincipled inconsistencies of others make a pathetic, if not tragic tangled web from which it is not always easy to extract either the real values or the participants. They are in the realms of our modern after-the-war provincialisms, of which there are legion. The germ ought to be isolated and a remedy found; extermination or at least prevention might then be possible. Here is an example. An ardent advocate of the Ku-Klux-Klan writing in catechism asks: "Why cannot a member of the Ku-Klux-Klan be a bootlegger?" "Because he has sworn in sacred oath to uphold the constitution of the United States." This refers to the 18th amendment. Then following this comes an onslaught on the necessity of the Ku-Kluxers being bound together in Christian faith and sacred oath to prevent negroes from voting and having dominance in the South. This refers to the fifteenth amendment! So far as we are informed, the eighteenth and the fifteenth amendments are parts of the constitution alike. The fact is that the inconsistency of swearing to uphold one amendment and to destroy another has never dawned upon the writer of this catechism. And to many, if it had

dawned, it would be a challenge to show that the first amendment was wrong, anyway, and to take advantage of the later amendment to clothe activities purporting to uphold "moralities" considered in good standing in the community. I might cite other quotations and inconsistencies; in the study of many negro fraternal organizations it has been found that most of them believe they are ordained of God "from the beginning" and will be "unto the end." Or at least they so state again and again. In much the same way members of Ku-Klux-Klan affirm the God-given purpose of their mission and I have long since been looking for some of them to liken the white robed invisibles to the angels above; and to begin the practice of song in order that they may aspire also to become the "choir invisible."

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### *Un-Christian Tendencies*

Here again inconsistencies seem never to appear to active enthusiasts. The catechism says that no one may become a member except he subscribe to the doctrine and belief of Christianity and the Christian religion. I have collected a number of letters of warning to wrongdoers, informing them that they must walk in the path of the Christian; the language often abounds in terms, ranging from vulgarity to profanity, which it would be difficult to imagine as characteristic of the gospels of the New Testament. It would be difficult to reconcile the spirit of Christianity which magnifies the child life with that of the action of Ku-Kluxers, raiding the home, or destroying the head of the home, leaving little children and broken homes in the wake of self appointed vengeance violently contrary to the Christian doctrine "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." It is difficult to find anything of the Christian in a band of men, neither in nor of the church, yet boldly lumbering up the aisle at preaching time to commend a minister of the gospel with petty display of charity or to censor the conduct of another whose gospel they did not approve. Oh ye child-like swaggerers of pathetic mien, craving a benediction undeserved, why have you withered your imaginations and your sense of humor? Imagine the Master, strutting into the Lord's House, with hood-

covered robe-draped crown muttering guttural nothingness and strutting right out again thanking the Lord that he is not as other men! What a category of perpetual paradoxes!

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### *Un-American Broken Promises*

Said one enthusiast: "The Ku-Klux-Klan is an organization standing for protestant Americanism, free speech, free press, white supremacy, and the support of all law." And he belonged to the group which wrote the editor of an independent newspaper that unless he stopped his abuse of the Klan, he would be "attended to;" he belonged to the same group which sent letters to the fearless outspoken minister of the gospel and fearless citizen; he belonged to the group which sets forth one of its main tenets as that which will forever violate the fifteenth amendment, although that is law; he belongs to the group which has instilled into literally scores of communities the wholesale, conscious and unconscious, feeling of the fear of free speech, either on ordinary

subjects or especially about the right or wrong of the Klan. I have heard dozens of simple and good citizens affirm that they make a rule never to talk about the Klan for the reason that klansmen might be everywhere about them. This refers to white citizens. And with reference to negro citizens the same situation is pathetic. And this is "free speech" and the upholding of the constitution which guarantees to all "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Here again the enumeration of inconsistencies would be a long task. One more will suffice. The K. K. K. violates the principles of "American democracy and American protestantism" in its blind following of unknown and unworthy leadership. At the very time its groups protest their chief purpose as that of war on sex immorality and illegal traffic in liquor, some of its chief leaders are likewise chief offenders. An enlightened democracy does not knowingly follow those whom it has neither chosen nor investigated nor those admittedly below the moral, social and economic standard of the average best American citizen. Wherever it does, the people perish.

## Library and Work Shop

Reviews by Gerald W. Johnson, William E. Dodd, Jesse F. Steiner, Ellen C. Potter, Mary O. Cowper, George C. Lundburg, and others.

### READING, WRITING, AND LEADERSHIP

HOWARD W. ODUM

THE STORY of the use of books and libraries as told in the January JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES by Louis R. Wilson presents a background of realism wherein there appears little room for æsthetic form, artistic interpretation or creative imagination. It is essentially a story of fact, well told; a challenge to thinkers and workers; a questioning of the future. The folks do not read; libraries are not available; progress, while substantial, is slow. And yet one might well aspire to the task of writing that other story of some of the individuals and groups in that vast throng of youth, if only the opportunity to read adequate and good literature had been a part of their social inheritance. What would have been the difference in development of personality, character, ability, leadership on the part of individuals? What would have been the difference in culture types and manifestations in social character, in judgment and emotional expression, and in leadership of a state, or of a section—the South? As it is, the picture must be left to the imagination or to a future for which we hope and work, while in reality we chronicle the social tragedies of the youth of a strong people untrained in language and expression, in knowledge and grasp, in habits of persistency, and in processes conducive to intellectual development. They are tragedies—both for the individuals and for the groups—of emptiness where information and vision might have been; of decayed processes where intellectual and spiritual life might have been more abundant.

#### THE READING TASK

Those of us here in the Library and Workshop who know all too well both from personal experience and from many observations, the reality of such deficiencies will scarcely protest any reasonable statement which deplores the lack of read-

ing facilities and reading habits. It may be doubted whether any great leadership can ever be developed without a greater reading power and appreciation. And how can we function as an effective democracy, making successive steps of progress, without strong leadership? And how may we hope to attain the richer happiness and the larger success in life without an adequate knowledge and culture consequent upon essential reading processes and experience? There is, however, one alternative which may well challenge the serious study and attention of all those who look to the South for certain potentials of sectional and national progress, and for the renewing of the former prestige of a gifted and patriotic group. It is the prospect of a hurried generation, hurriedly reading superficial matter of doubtful value without the background of full youth-time education and the carefully ordered reading of well chosen literature. May we not hope that a Southern era, now beginning, may provide for an economic and social status which will facilitate through democratic-wide education, the increase and profitable use of leisure, and the desire for a broader culture capable of adapting itself to a changing progress without the dangers usually incident to rapid development.

#### WRITING AND LEADERSHIP

But, granted the attainment of a status wherein deficiencies in reading facilities and reading habits are no longer glaring, there still remains another challenge which must be met. Can leadership in the larger and more permanent sense be produced unless ample reading be accompanied by literary expression and by the continuous production of a literature worthy of the highest criticism and appreciation? What is the relation between creative writing and leadership? What are the relationships between a reading public and literary production? Is there a constant correlation between the continuous failure of period-



ical journalism in the South and the available reading constituency? Or has the correlation been in the other direction—have the efforts toward educational and popular expression been unworthy? Has the public been simply not interested, with all too little leisure time, or has there been no community or social organization adequate for its distribution, or has the literature been simply not effective? What are the conditions under which periodical literature of the best sort, whether produced in the South or elsewhere, will be successful in the South? Is the matter of reading, after all, the responsibility of the great mass of sturdy folk or of leaders who fail to read adequately, or to write into a common literature the story of life about them? These and other questions will appear in the study being made by Dr. Wilson on a half century of Southern periodical journalism to be presented in the columns of THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES during the next year.

#### THE TRANSFER OF LEADERSHIP

Another study being prosecuted for THE JOURNAL is a statistical inquiry into the production and transfer of leadership by the Southern states. Why have the Southern states—the original states—produced—that is, native birth place—so many more men of distinction than now remain within their borders? Is there any relation between the standards of leadership, the opportunities for the expression of qualities of leadership, and a larger educated and reading public? Is there any renewed responsibility upon the institutions of learning if the fact should be brought out that Southerners educated in the home state remain at home while those who are educated in eastern and western universities do not stay at home? Where are the Southerners of national leadership in literature, in politics, in education, in wealth? Why does the South not, in turn for its contributed hundreds to the national field, bring into its life still other hundreds from other sections to take their places? Do men and women now in the South undertake their part of the current literary expression and criticism? The answer to these and many other questions will await an unusual and interesting report to be presented in later numbers of THE JOURNAL, offered primarily as a tentative inquiry without pretense of dogmatism or finality.

#### THE LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

In this issue of THE JOURNAL the Library and Workshop presents its book discussions in the form of a suggestion for a list of new volumes, rich in literary value, but especially adapted to the three-fold joy and task of such reading, writing and routine as may be available for the "practical" student, or worker or citizen. It must be understood that the list selected is more or less arbitrary, is very limited, and is not even representative in all particulars. But it is typical of a rich variety and will be continuously supplemented. Within this space, if we are to give to readers the excellent reviews that have been obtained, it is necessary to call attention to only a small number of volumes and to give notice of some, with reviews of others. The plan adopted is that of selecting two volumes representative of the several themes. First, with reference to writing, there are two volumes on the business and technique of writing, and two on literary criticism and style. Following these are two special series on biography, letters and international affairs; two on general social theory; two on special theory; two on the problems of the church and religion; two relating to special social problems; and two on fiction, and so on. If the tendency here is to emphasize at least in the arrangement and selection of the volumes, the social philosophy rather than the art of expression, the reader will be generous in remembering that literary criticism is not within the realm of THE JOURNAL's plan or abilities.

#### THE BUSINESS OF WRITING

A book dedicated to "The Many Accomplished Writers Who, Nameless to the General Public, Achieve Success and Happiness Without Fame or Applause" seems especially adapted to the purposes of this discussion. Such a book is "The Business of Writing" (Doran), by Robert Cortes Holliday and Alexander Van Rensselaer, who have given it the appropriate sub-title "A Practical Guide for Authors." For that is exactly what it is. And no one can read the volume through without experiencing not only an unusual pleasure because of the summation of many experiences there set forth and because of the excellent style and object lessons embodied in the book, but also because of a sense of a needed

### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE JOURNAL

*Joseph Kinmont Hart* is educational editor of THE SURVEY and has been contributing an unusual series of articles on present-day educational problems. Those who have read many of the editorials of *The Greensboro News* will be prepared to enjoy this unusual paper by *Gerald W. Johnson*, associate editor, and contributing editor to this JOURNAL. The most recent book from the pen of *James Q. Dealey* on some newer aspects of Government has been well received. He is Professor of Sociology in Brown University. *E. C. Branson* will send THE JOURNAL contributions from his studies in rural Europe during his residence there for the next year. His leave from the University of North Carolina begins April first. A new volume will appear at an early date in which *Jesse F. Steiner* will present still other aspects of community organization and community work. *Homer Hoyt* is Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of North Carolina. *Malcolm Willey* and *Melville J. Herskovits* are doing research work at Columbia University. *Mrs. Marjory Stoneman Douglas* is associate editor of the *Miami Herald*. She will have other contributions for THE JOURNAL from time to time. *Wallace E. Caldwell* is Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. His second article on "The Teaching of Ancient History" will be presented later to supplement the present discussion. *Walter J. Matherly*, Associate Professor of Commerce in the University of North Carolina begins an interesting inquiry, which follows the stimulating discussion of *Miss Herring*, director of personnel work at the Spray, North Carolina, mills. Her article should have appeared in the January issue. *Harry H. Howett* is Director of the Bureau of Child Welfare for the Ohio State Department of Public Welfare. *Boyce M. Edens* is Assistant Secretary of the Georgia State Board of Public Welfare. *Wiley H. Swift* of Greensboro, North Carolina, is representative of the National Child Labor Committee, Legal Department. *Emith Tuttle* is specialist in charge of child placing in the North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare. *Burr Blackburn* has just been appointed executive secretary of the Georgia State Council of Social Agencies, the organization which he describes in this issue. *Elmer Scott* is executive secretary of the Texas Council of State-wide Agencies. *Nell Battle Lewis* is in charge of Publicity in the North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare and special writer for the *News and Observer*. *Richard W. Wallace* is Superintendent of Inspection, State Board of Charities, New York. *Richard K. Conant* is Commissioner of Public Welfare for Massachusetts.

*W. S. Criswell* is Superintendent of the Boys' Home Association of Jacksonville, Florida, and has written numerous appealing sketches dealing with boy life. *William L. Poteat* is President of Wake Forest College and a well known contributor to North Carolina public life and literature. The Rt. Rev. *Edwin A. Pennick* is Bishop of the North Carolina Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church. *W. Carson Ryan, Jr.*, is Professor of Education in Swarthmore College and associate editor of *School and Society*. *Albin L. Holsey* is secretary of the Tuskegee Institute. *John M. Gillette* is Professor of Sociology in the University of North Dakota. *Florence H. Ridgway* is associate librarian at Berea College. *Frances Sage Bradley* is head of the Children's Bureau at Little Rock, Arkansas. *Anna B. Pratt* is Director of the White-Williams Foundation, Philadelphia. *Imogene Neer* is Assistant in Teachers College, Columbia University. *T. B. Eldridge* is Mayor of Raleigh, North Carolina. *Bertha Payne Newell* is Superintendent of Home Missions for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Of those contributing to the book reviews in Library and Workshop not already mentioned, *William E. Dodd* is Professor of American History in the University of Chicago. *Ellen A. Potter* is Commissioner of Public Welfare for Pennsylvania. *G. O. Mudge* is Superintendent of Schools at Columbia, N. C. *Walter Patton* is pastor of the Methodist Church at Chapel Hill.

### CONTRIBUTORS TO THE MAY NUMBER

A special statement concerning the May and September numbers of THE JOURNAL will be found on page 340. While THE JOURNAL makes no fast rule of limiting its contents to any list until the last possible date before going to press there is no objection to indicating the probable features in its next issue. Among the May contributors will be Professor Franklin H. Giddings, Professor James H. Tufts, Dean Roscoe Pound, Mrs. Ada F. Sheffield, Mr. Joseph C. Logan, Professor Ernest W. Burgess, Professor Stuart F. Queen, Dr. Robert Moton, Mrs. John F. Glenn, Mr. James H. Dillard, Mr. E. C. Lindeman, Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Professor Charles E. Merriam, besides the home folks, with a symposium of a decade of progress in the South by such authorities as Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, Mr. Burr Blackburn, Professor W. E. Wycoff, and others. THE JOURNAL makes no apology for attempting such an unprecedented series when it is noted that the May number will be dedicated to the National Conference of Social Work at its Fiftieth Anniversary. In honor of this occasion and for the promotion of its work no unusual effort or expense will seem out of place.



task unusually well done. The book stimulates the author and the would-be-author to write more and better; but it cautions him, with firm admonition founded upon realities, against superficial work or undeserved successes. As for the book itself, which of course must be read to be utilized, it contains thirteen chapters besides a delightful introduction on the story of the book itself and a very valuable list of magazines of interest to literary workers. The authors have discussed the approach to the modern editor and the modern publisher; the field of the literary agent; the business of being an author and seeing a book through the press as well as of publishing one's own books. They have told about the practical matters of contracts and royalties, of copyrights and markets, and of book reviews and book stores. The book is valuable, not only for its primary purpose to help authors in practical matters, but as an excellent example of the artistic business of writing.

#### TEXT, TYPE, AND STYLE

A different sort of practical help to those who would write well is George B. Ive's "Text, Type, and Style" (The Atlantic Press). This excellent little volume of 305 pages is really a compendium of *Atlantic* usage, but is none the less valuable for the general writer. So attractive is its form and so entertaining its presentation of fundamental principles and rules for the preparation of manuscripts and the handling of copy and proofs, that the reader forgets that it is an excellent formal handbook and manual of style. It really constitutes an excellent guide to the study of English with such admirable organization and selection of examples as to make its reading a pleasurable pastime wherein the reader joins hands with a goodly company of literary leaders and technicians. The volume seems to this reviewer to be complete, beginning with the task of proofreading and discussing satisfactorily the variations in punctuation (with some sixteen sections), abbreviations, capitalization, italics, spelling, compound words, relative pronouns, common parts, number, omission of words, and a miscellaneous chapter on "Divers Matters." If the intimation that this edition is limited is correct, then misfortune awaits some of those who, like the writer of this note, ought to know more about text, type, and style.

#### WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

The best book of the year on Literary Criticism has this added advantage for the Library and Workshop: that it is a most readable and charming study and it portrays also the ideals of a man who was not only an artist but also a social philosopher and a moralist. Unlike criticism, this notice is in no wise "reluctant to associate with William Dean Howells those human qualities he most prized or to identify the informing spirit of his art with the spirit of democratic living upon which he was most insistent." Thus Delmar Gross Cooke introduces his "William Dean Howells—A Critical Study" (Dutton) and affirms that "He will presently be established in the critical consciousness as a literary leader, as a social historian, and as an unrivalled technician." As "critic and creator" the "essential fact about modern art was its conscious fusion of the ideals of literature . . . with the ideals of life," and his method aimed "to delight and enoble the soul by revealing the truth, the idea that resides in all things great and trivial, and this through the ever-living sense of beauty." These are typical of the estimates placed by the author in the beginnings of his first six chapters; nor does he seem to regret that in the supreme reaches of his art, his critical message meant an "indissoluble fusion of ethics and aesthetics" and "the ideal of democracy constantly guided his pen." One wishes that Mr. Cooke's volume could be read again and again by those whose tasks and ideals lead them into paths of teaching, and preaching, and social work, and study, as well as those to whom writing may be the main zeal in life. The chapters vie with each other in the mastery of form and content until even those who have not or may not read much of Howells may still find happy interpretation and a better understanding of that greater criticism which holds life and literature inseparable.

#### THE GLORY OF ENGLISH PROSE

In commenting upon his letters to his grandson, the Hon. Stephen Coleridge in "The Glory of English Prose" (Putnam), writes, "My desire has been to lead him into the most glorious company in the world, in the hope that, having early made friends with the noblest of human aristocracy, he will never afterwards admit to his



# STATE CONFERENCES FOR SOCIAL WORK

Future issues of the JOURNAL will reserve space for a complete directory of all State Conferences for Social Work, listed by states, giving the designation of the conference, executive secretary in charge, and the general time for the annual meeting, as, for example:

## ALABAMA:

*The Alabama Conference for Social Work*  
MRS. F. M. BLYND, Birmingham, Ala. March.

## CALIFORNIA:

*California Conference of Social Work*  
MISS ANITA ELDRIDGE, San Francisco.

## COLORADO:

*Colorado Conference for Social Work*  
CHARLES I. MADISON, Boulder. October.

## CONNECTICUT:

*Connecticut Conference of Social Work*  
JOHN B. DAWSON, New Haven.

## DELAWARE:

*Delaware State Conference for Social Work*  
MR. CHARLES F. ERNST, Wilmington.

## FLORIDA:

*The Florida Conference for Social Work*  
MISS ELIZABETH COOLEY, Miami. April.

## GEORGIA:

*Georgia Council of Social Agencies*  
BURR BLACKBURN, Atlanta.

## ILLINOIS:

*Illinois Conference on Public Welfare*  
FRANK D. WHIPP, Springfield.

## IOWA:

*Iowa State Conference of Social Work*  
MISS LOUISE COTTRELL, Iowa City. Fall.

## MAINE:

*Maine State Conference for Social Work*  
EDWARD F. MOODY, Portland. Fall.

## MASSACHUSETTS:

*Massachusetts State Conference for Social Work*  
RICHARD K. CONANT, State House, Boston.

## MICHIGAN:

*State Conference for Social Work*  
MISS GRACE E. CONE, Lansing. Fall.

## MINNESOTA:

*Minnesota State Conference for Social Work*  
E. G. STEGER, St. Paul. September.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE:

*New Hampshire State Conference for Social Work*  
MRS. MARY P. REMICK, Concord.

## NEW JERSEY:

*New Jersey State Conference of Social Work*  
S. GLOVER DUNSLEATH, Newark. October.

## NEW YORK:

*New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections*  
RICHARD W. WALLACE, Albany. Fall.

## NORTH CAROLINA:

*North Carolina Conference for Social Service*  
WILEY B. SANDERS, Chapel Hill. January.

## OHIO:

*Ohio Welfare Conference*  
HOWARD KNIGHT, Ontario Bldg., Columbus. Fall.

## PENNSYLVANIA:

*Pennsylvania State Conference for Social Work.*  
KENNETH L. M. PRAY, Philadelphia.

## SOUTH CAROLINA:

*South Carolina Conference for Social Work*  
MISS PAULINE WITHERSPOON, Spartanburg. November.

## TENNESSEE:

*Tennessee Conference for Social Work*  
R. F. HUDSON, Chattanooga. April.

## TEXAS:

*Texas Conference for Social Work*  
DR. CARRIE WEAVER SMITH, Gainesville. October.

## VERMONT:

*Vermont Conference of Social Work*  
MISS HELEN OLDEN SMITH, Vergennes.

## VIRGINIA:

*Virginia Conference of Social Work*  
PROF. E. REINHOLD ROGERS, Covington.

## WISCONSIN:

*Wisconsin State Conference*  
AUBREY WILLIAMS, Madison.

*In the May number of THE JOURNAL  
will appear a symposium of State  
Conference plans*

affection and intimacy anything mean and vulgar." Such a sentiment might well be appropriate not only for those young people who today struggle with the mastery of English diction but to many who, having failed in earlier mastery, still seek notable, if simply expressed, examples of the glory of English prose. The selections in the volume, of which there are thirty-five are most interesting. Beginning with "The Glory of the Bible," followed with selections from Sir Walter Raleigh, these more than two hundred pages of delightful letters include a selection from Lincoln and end with a selection from King George the Fifth. For the most part the selections are those of the spoken word, eloquence of days of yesterday undimmed by the years. For the most part the selections represent a delightful uniformity in taste and conservatism, with well written letters of comment. And yet one enjoys the vigor and forcefulness of the letter and selection which represents Lord Erskine born in 1750, in which an indignant warning is hurled at the aristocracy of England. It reads as of today: "instead of continuing their names and honors in cold and alienated embraces, amidst the enervating rounds of shallow dissipation, let them live as their fathers of old lived before them; let them marry as affection and prudence lead the way, and in the ardours of mutual love, and in the simplicities of rural life, let them lay the foundation of a vigorous race of men . . ." It is a delightful book which one may read with much pleasure and simple profit and pass on to his children with the surety of providing them with an admirable object lesson in elegant writing.

#### THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF WALTER H. PAGE

In the "Life and Letters of Walter H. Page" (Doubleday, Page and Company), Burton J. Hendrick has combined in a most remarkable way the business of exemplifying both the art of writing and the substance of good literature. The elegance of Mr. Page's letters are too well known to need further elaboration. The contents, too, of his notable series of letters during the war period have proved a very decided contribution to the literature of that trying epoch. It is not the purpose of this notice to give a review of these two remarkable volumes. A special article dealing with Walter H. Page and his work will be pre-

sented in a subsequent number of THE JOURNAL, and with it appropriate recognition of Mr. Hendrick's contribution in these letters. At this time, however, there are two points of special emphasis that seem most appropriate. The first is that already mentioned, namely, the excellence of Mr. Page's literary expression as an example and an incentive to good reading and good writing. The second aspect has to do with the earlier days of Mr. Page's life as told in the first volume of his "Life and Letters." "Walter Hines Page, National Southerner," might well be the title given to this discussion. The excellent example of a well trained youth, of a vigor of intellect and independence of spirit, and of the ability and aptitude, not only to study but to discriminate and to adapt oneself, if studied by more of our young men, might well work great progress toward the ideals of a greater South. In the story of his later work in the South and in the nation Mr. Hendrick has written excellent history which needs to be read. How well he has performed the task may be seen from the remarkable reception which the volumes have received. Another tribute which means much and is of immediate interest is the testimony of a young college man that the reading of the first volume has changed his course into a more active interest in social problems, into a keener desire to read more of good literature, and into a determination to write better whatever he was called upon to clothe in the written word.

#### WOODROW WILSON AND WORLD SETTLEMENT

A second outstanding treatise dealing with larger social problems and relationships is that of Ray Stannard Baker's "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement" (Doubleday, Page, and Company), the review of which is presented by William E. Dodd, through the courtesy of the Literary Review of *The Greensboro News*.

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker is not a historian and hence this work does not quite make the appeal that it might have made if its author had known the vast tangle of facts and historical prejudices that lay behind Wilson's opponents and supposed allies at Paris. But Baker is a trained observer and a most thoughtful writer and publicist. For more than twenty years he has served the American people in the valuable capacity of a liberal interpreter of events. His philosophic grasp of the

### STATE DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Listed by states, departmental designation, executive officer, and corrected from official information available to date.

A REASONABLE OBJECTIVE: *An Effective Department of Public Welfare in Every State in the Union.*

- ALABAMA: *Child Welfare*  
MRS. L. D. BUSH, Secretary, Montgomery.
- ARIZONA: *State Institutions*  
BERT WINGER, Secretary, Phoenix.
- ARKANSAS: *Charities and Corrections*  
MRS. MARGARET FORD, Secretary, Little Rock.
- CALIFORNIA: *Charities and Corrections*  
MRS. CORNELIA MCKINIME STONWOOD, San Francisco.
- COLORADO: *Charities and Corrections*  
MRS. ALICE ADAMS FULTON, Denver.
- CONNECTICUT: *Public Welfare*  
CHARLES P. KELLOGG, Secretary, Hartford.
- DELAWARE: *Charities*  
J. HALL ANDERSON, Dover.
- FLORIDA: *State Institution*  
L. B. EDWARDS, Secretary, Tallahassee.
- GEORGIA: *Public Welfare*  
BURR BLACKBURN, Secretary, Atlanta.
- IDAHO: *Public Welfare*  
DAVID BURRELL, Commissioner, Boise.
- INDIANA: *Charities*  
JOHN A. BROWN, Acting Secretary, Indianapolis.
- IOWA: *Control*  
E. J. HINES, Secretary, Des Moines.
- ILLINOIS: *Public Welfare*  
C. H. JENKINS, Springfield.
- KANSAS: *Administration*  
MALCOLM M. GRAY, Secretary, Topeka.
- KENTUCKY: *Charities and Corrections*  
JOSEPH P. BYERS, Commissioner, Lexington.
- LOUISIANA: *Charities and Corrections*  
DR. MAUDE LOEBER, Secretary, New Orleans.
- MAINE: *Charities and Corrections*  
JAMES P. BAGLEY, Secretary, Augusta.
- MARYLAND: *Aid and Charities*  
WM. J. ODGEN, Secretary, Baltimore.
- MASSACHUSETTS: *Public Welfare*  
RICHARD K. CONANT, Commissioner, Boston.
- MICHIGAN: *Public Welfare*  
MARL T. MURRAY, Lansing.
- MINNESOTA: *Control*  
DOWNER MULLIN, Secretary, St. Paul.
- MISSISSIPPI: *No Board or Department*

- MISSOURI: *Charities and Corrections*  
HOMER TALBOT, Jefferson City.
- MONTANA: *Charities and Reform*  
MRS. CORA E. THOMAS, Secretary, Helena.
- NEBRASKA: *Public Welfare*  
H. H. ANTLES, Secretary, Lincoln.
- NEVADA: *No Department*
- NEW HAMPSHIRE: *Charities and Corrections*  
WM. J. AHERN, Secretary, Concord.
- NEW JERSEY: *Institutions and Agencies*  
BURDETTE G. LEWIS, Commissioner, Trenton.
- NEW MEXICO: *No Board*
- NEW YORK: *Charities*  
CHAS. H. JOHNSTON, Secretary, Albany.
- NORTH CAROLINA: *Public Welfare*  
MRS. KATE BURR JOHNSON, Commissioner, Raleigh.
- NORTH DAKOTA: *Administration*  
CHARLES LEISSMAN, Secretary, Bismarck.
- OHIO: *Public Welfare*  
H. S. McYEAL, Director, Columbus.
- OKLAHOMA: *Charities and Corrections*  
WM. D. MATTHEWS, Commissioner, Oklahoma City.
- OREGON: *Control*  
R. B. GOODWIN, Secretary, Salem.
- PENNSYLVANIA: *Public Welfare*  
J. M. BALDY, Commissioner, Harrisburg.
- RHODE ISLAND: *Penal and Charitable Commission*  
GEORGE T. GORTON, Secretary, Providence.
- SOUTH CAROLINA: *Public Welfare*  
JAMES C. DOZIER, Secretary, Columbia.
- SOUTH DAKOTA: *Charities and Corrections*  
C. M. DAY, Secretary, Sioux Falls.
- TENNESSEE: *Charities*  
W. BAXTER GASS, Secretary, Nashville.
- TEXAS: *Control*  
SAM H. CARTER, Secretary, Austin.
- UTAH: *No Board*
- VERMONT: *Charities and Probation*  
WM. J. JEFFREY, Secretary.
- VIRGINIA: *Public Welfare*  
FRANK BANE, Commissioner, Richmond.
- WASHINGTON: *Control*
- WEST VIRGINIA: *Children's Guardians*  
L. H. PUTNAM, Secretary, Charlestown.
- WISCONSIN: *Control*  
M. J. TOPPIN, Secretary, Madison.
- WYOMING: *Charities and Reform*  
MRS. CORNELIA B. MILLS, Secretary, Cheyenne.



problems of American life is best shown in the writings of David Grayson, the *nom de plume* of Baker's earlier life.

Another qualification for the writing of these volumes was Baker's presence as chief of the American Press bureau during the whole period of Wilson's stay in Paris. As such he had access to the President every day of that stormy period. And this access to the President meant that he would see Clemenceau and the other responsible statesmen at Paris almost as often as he saw Wilson. He was also in close touch with the heads of the expert commissions who reported to the Council of Four most of the plans out of which grew the framework of the conference. Aside from the want of historical perspective, Mr. Baker is about the best man that could write about the work of Wilson at Paris; and even this want of perspective may not be a disadvantage, for Mr. Wilson is notoriously shy of professional historians. Above all things the author of such a work ought to know intimately the thoughts of the one and only great figure of our time. Baker knew Wilson. One may doubt whether he knows either our amazing epoch or the more amazing complex with which Wilson contended.

Two of the volumes give an ordered account of the two journeys of the President to Paris, of the first try-out of strength between Wilson and the allied diplomats, the growing feeling in the United States that he put down the demands of the country for a free and unhindered hand in both the Americas and the everlasting cry that he put Germany behind padded cells. These are subjects not too well understood outside of Europe. Baker makes them clearer than they have hitherto been. Then he describes the work of the experts, the delegations of the small nations from all over the world, the endless demands upon Wilson's time, the deadlock of the latter days of March and early April, 1919, and the sorry compromise into which the "revanche" sentiment of France, the folly of Italy and instability of Lloyd George had driven the conference. These are the subjects of the narrative part of the work and little fault can be found with their treatment. The facts are observed, noted and described, even arranged in fair if not conspicuous order. Nothing important fails of its place, except the ugly and inward soul of things. The meaning of things is not made plain. And the reader of modern history, busy with his wireless, his motor car, his club and golf needs to have the meaning of things pointed out. How else shall he understand? Think of an American devoting his time to careful study and understanding of such a complex as the Paris conference!

The third volume is documentary. It contains the more important parts of the minutes of the Council of Four, some of the reports of the various commissions of experts who endeavored to unravel the tangled skeins of problems that Wilson must, of necessity, pass upon if he was to keep the work of the assembly of diplomats strictly in hand. These documents reveal a great deal that has not yet been discussed in the United States. They show how nearly Wilson brought the Japanese to

abandoning the disputed Shantung peninsula, how he foresaw the present failure of the French program for impossible reparations and how nearly he at one time came to breaking up the conference by taking ship for the United States. It is doubtful if ever a great historic leader was so completely vindicated in the record. Yet we know Wilson refused again and again to allow these documents to see the light on the ground that others might be compromised by his consent. One senator of the United States declared that he would dynamite the state department to get these documents. That was in September, 1919. If he had received the documents and read them he would have been unwilling to publish them. They were Wilson's most perfect vindication, which was not at the time the object of the senator in question.

It is an excellent thing that any publisher has been willing to bring out such an expensive and voluminous work upon Woodrow Wilson and world peace particularly at a time when most people of great influence in the country deprecate any publication that increases the vogue or vindicates the fame of the ex-President. Such a work can not give much financial return, although it must ere long give prestige to any house to give publicity to the work of the author of the fourteen points and the lone idealist in the great council at Paris. Already men begin to see; a little later they cannot fail to see, as in the glare of midday sun, how nearly the President represented the spirit of that truer and better America which fought in the great war and rejoiced in the principles for which it fought. And any publisher who now risks expensive books on the subject only shows imagination, a feeling for the future. This much one should say on behalf of those who risk good money on costly books—for books civilization must have, even if they never "pay."

#### SOCIAL CHANGE

Among the very newest books which treat of important aspects of social theory, William Fielding Ogburn's "Social Change" (Huebsche), is noteworthy. The review in this issue of THE JOURNAL is presented by *Jesse F. Steiner*.

This significant volume is illustrative of the growing tendency in sociological writings to utilize the best results of scientific research in throwing light upon fundamental social problems. Professor Ogburn's point of view is that of the scientist rather than that of the social reformer but his treatment of his subject is eminently practical and sets forth in an illuminating way the essential facts which must be given consideration by those interested in bringing about constructive changes in society.

In the early chapters of the book, the author calls attention to the distinction between man's original nature and his social heritage and discusses at length the prevailing tendency in the study of social problems to neglect the cultural and historical factors and turn for their interpretation to biology and psychology. This

tendency the author deplores and insists with good reason upon the necessity of giving due weight to cultural influences. It is pointed out that during the past two thousand years only slight biological changes have occurred while during this same period the cultural changes have been extraordinarily great. The conclusion seems therefore inevitable that cultural evolution is not to be accounted for by biological evolution.

Part III is given over to an interesting discussion of the problem of conservatism. Why does culture resist change so successfully and therefore stand in the way of the march of progress? The explanation is found in the utility of culture and in the difficulties involved in its diffusion. Vested interests, the power of tradition, habit, social pressure, and forgetting the unpleasant are among the factors mentioned that contribute to cultural inertia.

A further problem is concerned with the necessary adjustments between the different parts of culture. The thesis is advanced that the source of most modern social changes is found in the material conditions of life. These changes in material culture, as for example in the field of industry, necessitate corresponding changes in social organization and customs. The latter, however, tend to resist change thus bringing about serious mal-adjustment. This hypothesis of cultural lag is tested out by a study of the development of workmen's compensation laws, in which it appears that a measurable period elapsed between the time when the number of industrial accidents became significantly large due to the growth of machine industry and the time of the adoption of workmen's compensation. Additional illustrations of the failure of social movements to keep pace with material changes are found in such problems as taxation, the family, trade unions, and representative government. It is this mal-adjustment between the different parts of culture which give rise to many of the social problems that threaten the stability of society.

The latter part of the book in which is discussed the lack of adjustment between human nature and culture is of special significance for those interested in ways and means of promoting social progress. In the treatment of this topic many practical questions are considered as for example, the adaptation of the cave man to the modern city, the possibility of changes in human nature, and evidences of lack of proper adjustment as indicated by nervous diseases and by such social problems as crime, family instability, and poverty. In view of the slowness with which man's original nature changes, the author attacks the common assumption that human nature must be changed to fit modern conditions. He insists, on the contrary, that culture must be changed to suit human nature. When it comes to the possibility of bringing this about in any satisfactory way, Professor Ogburn does not speak in an optimistic manner. We cannot look forward to any wholesale control of social forces. It is practicable, however, to make many minor changes in our customs and cultural institutions that will add greatly to man's contentment and happiness. The suggestion is made that a way out of the

difficulties arising through these mal-adjustments may be found in a more rational education of children and through the development of such substitutive activities as recreation.

The book throughout is readable and stimulating. No social worker or person interested in social reform can afford to be ignorant of the facts and conclusions set forth by the author. A more general attention to discussions of this kind would go far toward establishing a sure basis for social programs of the future.

#### THE THEORY OF HUMAN SOCIETY

The second volume dealing with social theory to be the basis for comment is Franklin H. Giddings' "Studies in the Theory of Human Society" (Macmillan), previously noted in these columns for later review. The observations listed here are by *George A. Lundberg*.

It is not possible to review this work as a coherent whole, for, as the author himself points out in the preface, it is without the "form or formality of a text" and is "discursive" in manner. However, the three general divisions of the book, namely the Historical, the Analytical, and the Synthetic, contain subject matter sufficiently related to furnish a basis for somewhat connected comment.

The first part of the book, the Historical, is mainly introductory in character and consists for the most part of generally accepted views of the origin and development of the theory of evolution. This historical summary contained in Part I shows a splendid perspective, and is a broad survey of the fundamentals of cultural and economic development. As an "Outline of History" or a "Story of Mankind" it outdoes both H. G. Wells and Hendrik Van Loon. This part bespeaks a wide and careful study of social groups, in their historical aspects, which is its main contribution.

The author's inclination still to regard with favor the comparative method in ethnology is reflected here and there, as for example, the statement (p. 44) that "what was chronologically first to a great extent survives as the structurally or functionally low." While this may be true "to a great extent," it is by no means an invariable principle, as the modern diffusionists, such as Lowie and Goldenweiser, have pointed out. The author's criticisms of the various theories of history, also, leaves us very little better informed than before. The geographical, the biological, the psychological, and the anthropological theories of history are all true, says Professor Giddings, "as far as they go." But they do not go far enough. The real cause of history, says the author, is "the urge to adventure." Which is undoubtedly true—as far as it goes. Where this urge to adventure comes from, we are not told. Professor Giddings's treatment of group conflict as a factor in history, also, is reminiscent of the Social Darwinians as represented by Gumplovitz and more recently by Oppenheimer.



But the book as a whole is by no means an echo of the past. The Analytical part, which is by far the most important part of the book, is strictly modern in viewpoint and constitutes a first class contribution to the literature of scientific sociology. In his splendid chapter on Order and Possibility, it is "the object of science to extend description until it includes all knowable facts of matter, life, mind, and society, and places each fact in its proper place in the complete system." And "so it comes to this, that scientific explanation is description in conceptual terms carried to the limits within which verification by perception is possible, and that conceptual description verifiable and verified, is explanation." But all facts to be verifiable by perception must be *mechanistic*, i. e., a "system of equivalent, sensible changes." And "the extent to which mechanistic order limits possibility in particular cases and the ways or modes of determination, are of cardinal importance to students of social theory. Much social theorizing has been futile because of neglect to master them." From this theory of the nature and method of science, he concludes finally that the correct method of enquiry in sociology is statistical analysis of adequate data. Likewise modern in his view that although a subjective psychology of the individual is possible, it is significant only as its facts are correlated with behavior, both singularistic and pluralistic. "This means that we cannot explain society in terms of an individualistic psychology."

There is throughout the book the same confusion of the use of the terms "instinct" and "instinctive" which is found in most writings, literary or scientific. Although the author accepts in one place Woodworth's definition of instincts as "reaction tendencies, normally completed in reactions, of relatively complex mechanisms" (p. 155), we find a great variety of usage throughout the book. "Social sense is instinctive," "women are more instinctive than men," and he speaks of "coöperative instinct" and "conservative instinct," to mention only a few instances. In his chapter on "The Mind of the Many" the author becomes conscious of this confusion in connection with his "consciousness of kind." While denying that there is a gregarious instinct, he nevertheless believes that gregarious behavior may be instinctive. "To say that herd behavior is instinctive is not equivalent to saying that gregariousness is an instinct and the second proposition does not follow from the first." "If an instinct," he says, "is the response of a particular and definite nervous mechanism . . . there is no gregarious instinct. Yet it is equally certain that pursuit of prey by a pack of wolves and a stampede of cattle are instinctive behavior." Later he says, "there is no gregarious instinct mechanism." This seems to indicate that he conceives of an instinct as "a definite inherited action pattern of concrete organs and tissues or combination of such," which is Professor Bernard's definition. And hence, although it may seem at first glance to be grammatically and philologically objectionable to refer to gregarious behavior as instinctive and yet deny the existence of a

gregarious instinct, this is not necessarily an impossible statement; for gregarious behavior may be, and undoubtedly is, behavior resulting from many instincts, and hence may properly be called instinctive, without admitting the existence of a gregarious instinct. But Professor Giddings does not seem quite sure of his point. "Perhaps" gregarious behavior is instinctive, he says, but "perhaps" it is subinstinctive. Later he says that he is convinced that the latter is the case and that "it is essentially nothing more than reaction by the motor mechanism of the body along lines of least resistance." And from this point he goes on to connect it up with the "consciousness of kind" which undoubtedly still seems to Professor Giddings to be the "primary fact of human nature" as it was in his "Principles of Sociology."

It is disappointing that in his Synthetic part and throughout the book, the author seems afraid to follow out the logic of his own reasoning with respect to social organization. He traces the origin of the local state, the regional state, the nation, and the empire, but does not venture to suggest that in all probability this integration will continue. He even seems to imply that the consciousness of kind is an obstacle to internationalism. He seems to be of the opinion that the nation is the ultimate social unit and that social solutions must be worked out on this basis. And yet it is at least questionable whether that same equilibration of energy of which he speaks in an earlier chapter with reference to the physical world will not in the long run also operate in social relations to prevent any great and permanent progress of part of humanity without reference to, and consideration of, humanity as a whole. It is strange and disappointing that a work which is otherwise so excellently broad in social outlook should omit all mention of what is undoubtedly the next step in the organization of society.

This is not a book for the casual reader, and it contains few statements which may be easily contradicted or lightly dismissed. But it would be highly desirable if the brilliant treatment in this book of our tolerance of the agencies which are engaged in creating mob mind-ness and the author's splendid appraisal of the supernaturalists and their employment of the police power in their cause, could be given wider popular circulation than it is likely to receive through this volume.

#### EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Turning now to more special aspects of sociological themes, the following review of David Snedden's "Educational Sociology" (The Century Company), written by G. O. Mudge, will prove of interest to a large number of readers.

Any work that has thus far been done in the field of Educational Sociology has been pioneer work. Here and there guide posts have been set, but they have been placed indeterminately; they mark no definite boundaries. That the area to be explored is vast, that it teems with rich experiences for the exploring student,



goes without saying. That there is need for reaching out for these experiences is equally patent. Too long we have been accustomed to look at our school problems from the psychological standpoint. Our view has been from within outward. We have studied the child as an individual but we have not given due weight to his social self, to his place as an integral part of a social group. It is no less the duty of educational agencies to develop social efficiency than it is to develop individual efficiency.

It is at once apparent that to draw a line of demarcation between the field of education that is essentially psychological and that which is essentially sociological is impossible. There is no such thing as an individual isolated from his social environment; on the other hand there is no group that is not an integration of individuals.

Dr. Snedden in the book under review has set some guide posts and has attempted to make an approach to the line of demarcation. The results, however, have been indefinite. In fact it is the belief of the writer that the first impression to the reader of Dr. Snedden's book will be that of indefiniteness. One rides along rapidly, with scarcely a jolt, but the objective point, the end of the journey, seems to be constantly receding.

Dr. Snedden sees no new conflicts. Problems arise but they are the same old ones, perhaps slightly disguised, that we have been meeting through the centuries of the past. Our educational system will meet them. True it has not thus functioned in the past, but then sociology had not reached approximate valuation of social values or "goods." "This is unfortunate for the sociologist since the formulation of scientific objectives depends heavily upon well-defined standards of social values. But time and effort will give us more knowledge especially in view of the rapid progress now being made by sociology and its subsistence, social psychology." And all crises will be met! How quieting it would be if we could all share Dr. Snedden's optimism!

It is pointed out in the preface of the book that, "This is in fact chiefly a book of problems." It is suggested that many of these problems are well outside the bounds of the teacher and are subjects for investigation by experts. The reviewer grants without reserve the pertinence of this suggestion. Herein lies the most potent force of the book. It does suggest problems, real, live problems, problems that are pressing for solution. But the reviewer holds that some at least of these problems will not be solved if attacked alone from Dr. Snedden's view point. "The development of social science subjects in the higher institutions of learning in recent years . . . may be expected gradually to produce fairly accurate knowledge as to the place and probable functions of the various agencies of economic activity." Good influences will no doubt go out from the work that the colleges and universities are now doing, much has already gone out, but for a long time to come the industrial activities of the state and nation as they are, will more strongly serve to shape the teaching of the social science departments, than will the teaching from these departments shape industrial activity.

Dr. Snedden is first of all an educator. He had his training in the individual psychology school. To him the school and the school experiences are the chief centers from which must radiate the influences that are to determine the efficiency with which the social aggregates of the future will function. The school is to develop experiences that are to displace the undesirable ones now found in the social aggregate. This may be ideal but it is contrary to the race.

Dr. Snedden raises this question more specifically when in the fourth part of the book he comes to the discussion of educational objectives. What is there in history, for example, that may be used to enrich the life of any group? Will it be impertinent to suggest here that Dr. Snedden has started his inquiry at the wrong end? Will it not be more in keeping with the true spirit of educational sociology to inquire first what experiences there are peculiar to this group which history as a study may serve to intensify and thus give the group a life richer and more abundant?

Dr. Snedden has written a live, suggestive, and interesting book. He has organized the field of educational sociology as no other book that has come to the notice of the writer has done. The fifty or more chapters are divided into four divisions. In the first two of these, Social Forces, Processes, and Values, and Societies and Social Groups, he has laid the foundations for the theory that he propounds in the two following sections, Sociological Foundations of Education, and Sociological Foundations of School Subjects. He has laid his foundation well. But the reviewer must insist that he has emphasized too strongly the influence that is to come from the school and from studies. It is from these that he takes his point of departure rather than from those forces, experiences, already inherent in the group that these studies are to enrich. As already suggested this is the viewpoint of the educator rather than that of the sociologist. If the reader realizes this early in his reading he will find the book strongly worth while.

#### PUBLIC WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

A generous review of the recent special volume on "Public Welfare in the United States" (American Academy of Political and Social Science) has been contributed by *Dr. Ellen Potter*, Commissioner of Public Welfare for Pennsylvania.

A thousand words is a scant measure into which to compress a review of the January number of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and yet it must suffice.

The subject to which this number is devoted is "Public Welfare in the United States" to which general subject is added a supplement dealing particularly with Child Welfare. From cover to cover this quarterly is packed full of historic fact; the philosophy of the modern movement in the social welfare field; and the detail of the technique to make that philosophy effective.

The editor in charge of this volume is Howard W. Odum, Kenan Professor of Sociology in the University of North Carolina, which in itself is a guarantee that the subject is handled most effectively. The volume, as the editor states, has been organized around the general concept of public welfare which includes "the home and family; the school and education; the state and government; the church and religion; industry and work; and social democracy representing the ideals of community and association."

Part 1 is introductory. An article by Dr. Odum elucidates the newer ideals of public welfare; Dean Graves of the School of Forestry of Yale links up the subject with the conservation of natural resources; Professor J. L. Gillin in a masterly article vindicates the right of modern public welfare ideals to a place in the governmental scheme of a democracy. "Democracy implies not only that we must care for the unfortunate but that as far as possible each individual in a democracy shall bear his share of the burden of that democracy. Every increase, therefore, in the number of paupers, delinquents and defectives means the enlargement of an undemocratic class." The ideal of our modern public welfare movement is the prevention of any further increases in this "undemocratic group." Raymond B. Fosdick brings into sharp relief the relation of international problems to our local social welfare.

Part 2 covers the history and the principles involved in the related fields of health and education. The master hands of Kelso, Vincent, Lovejoy and others correlate public education, public health and public welfare; and the pioneer work by private agencies as a foundation for governmental activity is given just recognition.

Part 3 deals in greater detail with the contribution of voluntary agencies to public welfare. Frances H. McLean and C. C. Carstens cover the family and child welfare organizations while the field of the church and of industry as well as other types of voluntary effort in behalf of a more perfect functioning of our governmental institutions are discussed by other authorities.

Part 4 is devoted to a discussion of State Systems of Public Welfare. The organization, plans and ideals of Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Indiana and North Carolina are presented by representatives of these departments while attainable standards for state departments are laid down by Dr. Odum, giving us a firm ground from which to undertake further progress. Through all this section the evidence appears that local responsibility in the field of public welfare is a prime requisite to success; and the success of a state department will depend upon its ability to arouse and to lead the local units along modern lines.

Part 5 presents municipal problems and systems. Perhaps the most significant contribution in this section is from Gertrude Vaile, associate director, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work and formerly executive secretary Denver Bureau of Charity. Her paper, the subject of which is, "The Organization Problem of Public Welfare Departments" is as truly applicable to state as well as to municipal organization.

The fact that the purpose and method of a Department of Public Welfare needs interpretation to the people, perhaps more than is the case with any other governmental department implies, in her judgment, the need for a Board of Public Welfare which in turn appoints the director of the department and so removes him, and therefore the policies of the department, somewhat further from the possibility of political control. The board, she contends, should have concern for the policies of the department through its advisory function but should assume none of the administrative functions.

Part 6 presents a comprehensive discussion of professional training and vocational work. The pressing need for trained leaders, executives, in the field of social welfare as well as technicians is an emphatic note struck and the fact that the universities are developing courses to meet the need is encouraging. Beside the discussion of the content of such courses by Dean Hagerty of the College of Commerce, Ohio State University and Professor Steiner of the University of North Carolina, there is an interesting and stimulating statement of fact as to professional openings in the governmental and non-governmental fields.

The bibliography and "Book Department" at the end of this section as well as that following the supplement on Child Welfare is distinctly helpful. If one were to sum up the fundamentals developed in these six sections one would say:

1. The right of a Department of Public Welfare to function as a part of democratic government.
2. The principle underlying the whole modern movement in the field of social welfare is that of prevention of dependency, delinquency and defect, with ultimate economy to the tax payer and an immense conservation of human happiness and well being.
3. The personnel needed for the accomplishment of these ends, a trained staff, free from political entanglements; and the method of attainment, by enlightened public opinion and not by police powers vested in the department. And in addition enlightened local support for a state program.
4. The inter-dependency of the voluntary and governmental agencies in the field.
5. The immediate need for a thorough study of methods of organization and administration together with the development of standards which will give a unity of purpose and an adaptable standard technique to state and municipal departments of public welfare.

The supplement which deals with Child Welfare, edited by James H. S. Bossard, Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, makes a real contribution in that field with H. Ida Curry of the State Charities Aid of New York, Calvin Derrick of New Jersey, Katherine F. Lenroot of the Federal Children's Bureau, Charles L. Chute of the National Probation Association and others as contributors. Rural child welfare, probation, the juvenile court, recreation, the problems of the pre-school child are all dealt with and Helen MacMurchy makes a special contribution on Child Welfare in Canada.



It is not saying too much that every trustee and every social worker, trained or untrained; executive or technician; volunteer or governmental employee should "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" this very timely contribution to the literature of public welfare.

### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGION

In the realm of the church and religion the most notable book of the year has been Charles A. Ellwood's "The Reconstruction of Religion" (Macmillan), the review of which is presented by *Jesse F. Steiner*.

In these days when sociology is still looked upon with suspicion in certain religious circles, it is significant that from the pen of a leading sociologist should come one of the best vindications and interpretations of religion that has appeared in recent years. The author's point of view is well summed up in his concluding sentence: "A Christian world is not only practicable; in the long run it will be found that no other sort is practicable." While written by a proponent of Christianity, the book bears on every page evidence of keen scientific analysis and a careful dispassionate weighing of facts. Seldom does one find in books of this sort so much freedom from partisan bias and theological verbiage. The author wrote evidently with the needs of the lay reader in mind and as a result produced a book that carries a wide appeal to those interested in thinking through present day religious problems.

As is indicated in the sub-title, the book approaches the problem of the reconstruction of religion from the sociological rather than the theological viewpoint. Theological questions are by no means avoided but they do not form the central theme of the discussion. The religious problem of the present, in the opinion of the author, is not a problem in metaphysics or theology; it is a problem in the practical values of human living. What is needed in order to give new vitality to religious institutions is to bring about the transition from a theological to a social and scientific conception of religion. No radical or revolutionary theology is therefore proposed or insisted upon. The problem of the reconstruction of religion is presented in terms of social idealism. In the social teachings of Jesus is found the key that will transform our religious institutions and make them effective agencies in meeting the needs of the world.

The central theme of the book is found in the chapter on the social significance of religion in which the author gives a brief outline of the development of religion and shows how changes in religion have been correlated with changes in man's social and cultural life. Religious concepts have been built up from social experiences because of the universal tendency for social values to express themselves religiously. Religion universalizes these values and thus gives a fuller meaning to life. Herein appears the fundamental necessity for religion. A religionless world, according to the author, would be a world of uncertainties and despair where

neither harmony nor goodwill could long prevail. But the kind of religion that is needed to prevent the death of higher civilization is one that can adapt itself to the requirements of continuous progress toward an ideal society. Religion too often develops a backward tendency and serves as a bulwark for a social order that has been outgrown. It thus stands in the way of social progress and deserves the criticisms that are heaped upon it. The way out is found through a recognition of religion as a dynamic, expanding force that keeps pace with constantly changing conditions and attaches its sanctions to conduct and ideals that are progressive.

The chapter dealing with the opportunity of the church should be carefully read by every religious leader. The author points out that the church like all other institutions has a tendency to forget its real purpose and set itself up as an end in itself. The avoidance of this danger is a serious task. If the church is to fit itself for real leadership it must achieve unity of coöperation in its redemptive work and at the same time permit freedom in such non-essentials as theological beliefs and ritual practices. Further the church must give up the "hospital" conception of its task. That is, its primary purpose is not merely to help the physically or spiritually sick; to minister to individuals as individuals. Its real goal is the creation of a Christian world. To individual evangelism must be added social evangelism. The church must deal with mass movements and the forces that lie back of mass movements, which we vaguely call public sentiment, public opinion, and popular will. This problem of Christian statesmanship is the challenge to the modern church. If the church is to create a Christian world through a larger control of public opinion, its methods must be modernized. The church, suggests the author, must be profoundly interested in promoting and diffusing social knowledge. The church holds one key to this knowledge, the social ideals of Jesus, and the social sciences the other.

This is a volume that religious leaders dare not ignore if they are interested in keeping abreast of the best religious thought of their day. A wide reading of its illuminating discussions would go far toward furnishing a proper perspective for an evaluation of the traditional theological disputations that still in some quarters consume so much of the vitality of the church.

### PREACHING THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

The second volume chosen for review in the field of religion is Ozora Davis' "Preaching the Social Gospel" (Revell), which is reviewed briefly by *Walter Patten*.

The purpose of the author of "Preaching the Social Gospel," is to make available for ministers a "practical treatise" on the interpretation of Christianity as a social gospel. To stimulate a "progressive presentation of the social message" as an aid to individual character building in a social order he interprets the gospel as a message for the "Individual," for the "Physical World,"



for the "Family Life," for "Education," for the "Neighborhood," for a "Working World," for "Political and National Life," for the "Moral Order," and for the "Whole Family in Earth and Heaven."

The reading of this book will present suggestions to the minister who is chronically averse to preaching on social subjects. It will encourage him who preaches occasionally on such themes, and it will delight the man who believes that the way out of the present lethargy and stagnation of some congregations is through the preaching of a social gospel. It is quite evident that the man of the street is demanding that the Christian church must be a practical institution and apply its great truth to the multifarious relations of the people. The author believes that in the social message there is a new "creative energy" for the minister who will interpret the Christian religion with the zeal of modern propagandists, and as a living social truth as well as a commanding individual challenge.

#### ANNE SEVERN AND THE FIELDINGS

Mary O. Cowper reviews briefly "Anne Severn and the Fieldings" (Macmillan), which is one of the most interesting studies of social and psychic "complexes" presented in a long time.

In "Mr. Waddington of Wyck" and "The Life and Death of Harriet Freen," Miss Sinclair seems to have studied pruning, to have learned to present a character through the medium of a very short, compact novel. In "Anne Severn and the Fieldings," she trusts herself to present a number of characters in a much longer book, and she gives the same effect of exquisite choiceness of material, of simplicity and directness. She uses no words, no incidents that are not essential for her purposes, she leaves out nothing that could aid the vitality of her creation. The fault in this economy, this meticulous picking of material, is that the purpose of the creator is too clearly seen. Because of the exigencies of her plot, or rather, because of the trouble necessary for the spiritual development of Anne and Jerrold, Miss Sinclair makes one woman all saint, another all beast, and another too unselfconsciously selfish for this era of self analysis. It is to the author's credit as a novelist, perhaps, that these characters do not seem to be puppets, but persons whose full characteristics are kept concealed through designs of their creator. Anne is different. We know her thoroughly. We learn to love her when she is a child, we give her our whole sympathy then, and we cannot withdraw it when she sins, for we know the anguish she must suffer, she being what she is. That she has a hope of normal happiness at the end of the book, and is not solaced with ecstasies, makes her more human than Mary Olivier. Anne's suffering and her love seem more poignant because more simple.

Through the men, even more frankly than through the women, Miss Sinclair analyzes different kinds of love. Reaction to suffering is made as important as it really is in life. The background of love of the land, of devotion to its needs, is as beautiful and as effective as the background of the war is potent.

#### NIGGER

Finally, the list is concluded with *Gerald W. Johnson's* admirable review of "Nigger" (Dutton), and presented here through the courtesy of the book page of the *Greensboro News*.

What is to be said of a book that comes so close to greatness as to miss it by a hair's breadth through the author's deliberate refusal to give it a true perspective? Is the excellence of the craftsmanship more to be praised than the defective vision of the writer is to be condemned? Clement Wood has written in "Nigger" a novel of brilliance and power; he has painted his black man, his nigger, as Cromwell desired to be painted, "warts and all," and as far as the figure itself is concerned it is a magnificent portrait. But for the background he has simply squirted India ink all over his composition. Wood has granted the southern white man not one redeeming feature; and that stamps falsehood over the entire book, for there are 20,000,000 southern whites, and it is plain even to a rudimentary intelligence that so many human beings cannot be collected in one country without the inclusion of a good many who are thoroughly decent people. Had the author included among the horde of fantastic villains that infest the book one southern white man who was honest and honorable, that one would have been so overwhelmingly in the minority that the effectiveness of the picture would have been tremendously strengthened by the contrast. If there is none such in his experience, then he should have invented one as a matter of artistry; for the absence of that high light prevents a book otherwise fine from touching greatness.

It is a pity, for there is in this book a vast deal to admire. Few, indeed, are the American novelists who can show better craftsmanship. There is humor in it, a wealth of keen observation, a profound understanding of negro psychology, an admirable grasp of the mechanics of novel-writing and an astonishing command of the English language, both the academic language and the speech of the uneducated negro. The dialect, indeed, is well-nigh flawless—probably altogether flawless, for this reviewer is judging by the dialect of the North Carolina negro, and "Nigger" is written in the Alabama dialect, which is slightly, but appreciably, different. The book runs smoothly and swiftly, and it is close-knit, balanced and symmetrical—in short, from a technical viewpoint, an extraordinarily fine piece of work.

But it is as a social document that the thing is most absorbingly interesting to the southern reader. In this respect it is an amazing and appalling indictment of the whites of the south. The same flaw that makes it artistically faulty renders it defective as an indictment—it is too sweeping, its charges include many counts that can be disproved. Nevertheless, in some respects it is a true bill; and for that reason it is worth the attention of every thoughtful southerner.

Professional southerners, suet-brained publicists, estimable maiden ladies who rank Father Ryan a cut above

Milton as a poet and who regard as treason the suggestion that the wrong of human slavery outweighed all the rights that the Lost Cause ever possessed, will be horrified and infuriated by the recommendation that this book be read widely in the south. They will instantly begin to spout all the old buncombe about the south as the abode of the most honorable, most courageous and most chivalrous race on earth. Wrapping the Stars and Bars about their forms, they will invoke the spirits of Lee and Jackson to cast some blighting spell upon the impiety that would question the sanctity of the Southland. Never the south—always Our Southland.

Well, Robert E. Lee was a very great gentleman, and Stonewall Jackson, while an excessively hard-boiled egg, feared neither man nor devil, hit hard and told the truth. The idea of either Lee or Jackson participating in the propagation of sloppy lies about the virtue and chivalry of their own flesh and blood, is simply inconceivable. Lee and Jackson were first-rate soldiers, magnificent disciplinarians; and discipline implies knowledge of your weaknesses as well as your strength. Had those two great southerners seen evil creeping through the south, they would not have wrapped the mantles of their own mighty past about them and lost themselves in entranced contemplation of their illustrious deeds. On the contrary, they would have raised a hue and cry throughout the land until the verminous thing was destroyed or driven out.

The fact is, southerners are neither more nor less than ordinary Americans, mostly of British extraction—good people, in the main, and, under the right stimuli, capable of great things; but very, very far from perfect. In fact, the ruin of half a century ago, which destroyed the school system along with pretty nearly everything else, bogged the south in a morass of ignorance whence it is only now slowly and painfully emerging. And ignorance has had upon the southerners the effect that it has upon all other people—it has been prolific of bigotry, cowardice and cruelty.

What is the most widely known product of southern civilization at the moment, the one institution the like of which has not been produced by any other than this peculiarly honorable, courageous and chivalrous people? The Ku Klux Klan. We are seeing, as this is written, how the honor, courage and chivalry of a conspicuous, if not numerous element of the south operates in Louisiana. There it took six or eight parfit gentil knights, hooded and robed and covered by darkness, to run one 17-year-old girl out of town. It took 45 or more to seize two unarmed men, one a former soldier of the republic; and when the prisoners had surrendered, these honorable and chivalrous gentry did them to death with torture so fiendish and so loathsome that the newspapers dare print no more than hints at the sickening details.

When the urbane and insolent Lodge taunts us with living under a "shot-gun civilization," we may rave, but we really have no answer. When Clement Wood, in "Nigger," exposes to the world the hellish savagery of a lynching-party, there is really nothing for us to say.

But we can do this—we can look the facts squarely

in the face. We must do that before we can hope to abolish the things that now disgrace us. The literate south, the south that is in some measure free from the bigotry, cowardice and cruelty that ignorance has brought with it, the south that is the heir of great traditions can rid itself of its besetting sin—that bland complacency that permits it to shut its eyes to the shame and horror that surround it. Let it read "Nigger"; and if it revolts at the hideous picture of southern white men there presented, let it consider what kind of white men the nigger has to deal with. The Negro, A.B., A.M., Ph.D., LL.D., may on occasion come into direct contact with the truly civilized south; but the nigger, the cotton-field hand—with whom are his contacts made? His boss may treat him fairly, but will that outweigh his treatment at the hands of gangs of young toughs, of the scum of the white race, of bestial, bloodthirsty mobs, of the gentle and chivalrous Ku Klux?

After all, we are not sure that the picture in this book is an unreasonable caricature. From the nigger's viewpoint, it may be a strikingly faithful portrait—but that is an idea too dreadful to elaborate.

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